HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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December 18, 1965 Vol. XXV. No. 51

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NEWSPAPER

IS WILLING TO SPEND OVER $5 MILLION

Reuther Launches Drive to Unionize Entire Government

By VICTOR RIESEL

When Walter Reuther last attended a national convention in San Francisco of the men who lead America's powerful labor movement, he took time out to beard N.S. Khrushchev in a posh Nob Hill den.

Now the Detroit auto union chief is seeking bigger game—such as the U.S. government. He and his colleagues want to unionize a million or more federal employes as part of a sweeping organization drive on which he is willing to spend over $5 million.

As always at a gathering of the nation's 900 most influential labor leaders at their biennial AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention, Reuther is the restless, colorful, idea-rocketing center of attraction for the delegates and the tourists.

There is an in-group, the power structure, which is little known to the public because that's how this establishment prefers it. Generally outwardly placid, it is now inwardly nettled by Reuther's barbs and charges that it has a "banker's mentality" and refuses to take "money out of the mothballs."

But not since the pre-space age in San Francisco when immovable George Meany battled the irresistible John Lewis —and Old King Coal lost—have there been any open floor battles. Now all is behind the scenes. Privately the other national labor chiefs are saying in effect: Okay, Reuther, let's see what you can do.

So the "redhead" is developing plans, meeting with labor chiefs from across the land, attempting to raise millions for an uncharacteristically unspectacular, but characteristically history-making unionizing drive in '66.

There is talk of his organizers sweeping across the South. However, the first sector to watch for moves by the AFL-CIO's industrial union (IUD) wing, which he leads, is right smack in the heart of Washington, D.C.

There he and his brilliantly competent executive director-secretary treasurer, Jack Conway, have a huge potential—some 800,000 non-union government employes. These men and women of the civil service can be unionized into the old, but unknown and weak American Federation of Government Employes (AFGE).

If successful in the capital, Reuther's organizers would have virtually a million-member base in the AFGE for fanning across country. Now he would be ready to move south in search of non-unionized employes at hundreds of new federal installations. Some of these are huge military sites. Others have just a handful of workers in a cluster of classified buildings.

This campaign could be coupled with "organize - the - unorganized" drives among migratory farm workers and at nearby hotels, motels, restaurants, laundries and other service "shops."

But that would be secondary in the push to sign up the government—and city governments as well.

If other unions make money and manpower available—and that is what Reuther and his colleagues seek at this Sixth Constitutional Convention—the IUD will launch offensives against thousands of small businesses in California, Chicago (area) and New England.

Jack Conway and his researchers reckon that the small shop potential is in the hundreds of thousands of new members.

These plants employ from 100 to 150 workers and have been thought impregnable to labor organizers. Many of them are low-income people and believe they have little to gain from dues paying. However, Reuther and company will come to them with at least one new tempting gift-wrapped offer. This is the new pension plan which pools workers of different small companies.

This will give the small plant employe the same pension plan security as that enjoyed by workers in the big auto and steel corporations. What Reuther plans to do is simply pool thousands of workers of different small shops in central pension plans handled by insurance companies.

Operating out of the AFL-CIO's $4-million headquarters in Washington, D.C., auto union chief Walter Reuther (insert) will start his unionization drive among the 800,000 non-union federal employes who work in the Nation's Capital.

It would be a portable pension so workers could hit the road if they wished and still carry their pension credits with them—if they stay in the new union being offered them by the IUD.

This new unionization campaign is just the kind of challenge Reuther loves to tackle in long, eloquent assaults from latter day barricades. And it's just the kind of challenge, some labor leaders say, which will leave him stuttering and muttering.

But nobody is counting him out. These are practical men. They'll wait to see if the whiz kid of the '30s still has it in the '60s.

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LAST CHANCE

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LT. COL. LUCIEN CONEIN

Top Plotter Against Diem Returns to So. Viet Nam

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Business Kicks in $1 Million To Help Elect Democrats in '66

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Address all subscription inquiries, complaints, address changes and other correspondence to Human Events, 410 First St., S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003. For address changes print your new address on a plain sheet of paper and attach a copy of the address label from a recent issue of Human Events.

Bound Volumes indexed: July-December, 1963, $18. April-June, 1963, $18. January-March, 1963, $18. Second six months, 1962, $15. First six months, 1962, $15. Second six months, 1961, $15.

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HUMAN EVENTS is published weekly by HUMAN EVENTS, INC., 410 First St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50. (See coupon below).

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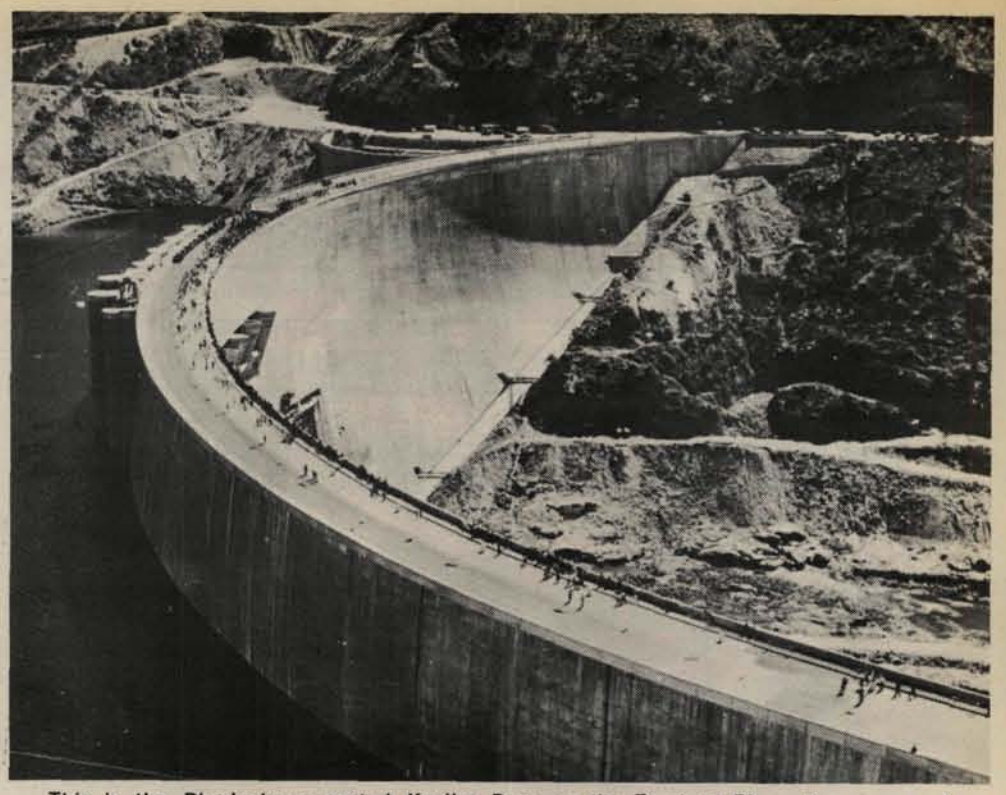

This is the Rhodesian-operated Kariba Dam on the Zambezi River, the source of Zambia's electrical supply. The Zambian government has asked Britain to guard the dam.

Rhodesian Boycott Illustrates U.S. Foreign Policy Failures

The U.S. quickly joined this boycott but our allies still defy us by trading with Cuba and North Viet Nam.

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Our prompt response to Great Britain's appeal for a boycott of Rhodesia—whether you agree with the boycott or not—highlights the failure of Great Britain and most of our allies to respond with similar good faith when it is our fat, not theirs, that is in the fire.

Just look at the difference. When Great Britain said jump, we just asked "how high?" Our rejection of Rhodesian sugar shipments, even when those shipments were on the high seas, was so prompt that it almost preceded the request.

On the other hand, we have been trying to get our friends, Great Britain included, to cut off supplies to and sales from Cuba ever since the missile crisis—a crisis, incidentally, which threatened the entire world and not just the climate of one section of one continent, as with Rhodesia.

What has been the result of our pleas in regard to Cuba? British exports to Cuba rose from about $6 million worth in 1963 to a husky $27 million worth last year. Our other allies have done just about the same.

France's trade with Cuba jumped from $4 million to $49 million worth in the same period. Canada went from $15 million to $57 million, Japan from $3 million to $34 million.

Free-world ships made 76 calls on Cuban ports in the first four months of this year. Of that number, 33 were by British ships, according to records on file at the U.S. Maritime Administration.

In the past two years there have been 844 free-world trips to Cuban ports, some 40 per cent by ships flying the British flag.

Even harder to take at this bloody time in our history are the free-world ships, particularly ships of Great Britain, which have been carrying cargoes to the ports of North Viet Nam. No matter what the cargoes comprise, they are aiding the Vietnamese war effort. In short, they are helping to kill American soldiers in the field—and Australian soldiers as well.

Rep. Paul Rogers (D.-Fla.) has charged that in the last half of last year alone a total of 201 free-world ships, almost half British, carried Communist cargoes into North Vietnamese ports.

Beyond helping haul the goods of war and other supporting material into North Viet Nam—to the hands of the free world's active enemies, to the men who are killing free-world soldiers—various of our allies are trading directly with North Viet Nam. The figures are not huge, but they are significant for a wartime situation such as this—just as significant as trading with Japan and Germany on Dec. 6, 1941.

France last year exported about $2.5 million worth of goods to North Viet Nam and expects to do about as well this year. Italy and Germany also have sold to the Vietnamese at an annual rate of better than $1 million each.

The Rhodesian boycott raises many immediate questions of reciprocity in this matter of economic warfare and about the relationship of our policies with those of our allies. Above all, it raises the very serious question of how well we share common purposes these days.

So far it seems a sadly one-way street.

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All Is Not Smooth Sailing for Johnson

Here are nine areas that could spell trouble for LBJ in '66

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Lyndon Johnson is still being praised for his ability to sustain the initiative in foreign affairs and for his savvy in driving his domestic program through Congress. But some of his more discerning well-wishers are trying to warn him that 1966 must, in the nature of things, be an entirely new ball game. There are at least nine areas in which he stands to run into great trouble.

1. The attempt to govern by suggesting "voluntary" restraints has some very

Scandal in Sargent Shriver's poverty program will be a big campaign issue next year.

loyal Democratic senators muttering. Vance Hartke of Indiana and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota see a menacing correlation between the "voluntary" diminution of American business investment abroad and our loss of export markets. Since our investment dollars have stopped moving into foreign channels, both our percentage of world trade and our surplus of exports over imports have been declining. Unless something is done to expand the international use of the dollar, both Hartke and McCarthy will be heard from in the next session of Congress.

2. The use of existing laws for ends not contemplated in their original formulation is raising the issue of "government by law versus government by men." The Republicans haven't really gone to town in condemning the sale of aluminum and copper from government stockpiles as a measure of "price control." But David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank has indicated that the financial community is perturbed by this—and the congressional Republicans could erupt once Sen. Dirksen and Rep. Ford are back on the job in Washington.

The danger is that copper will soon be in short supply again anyway, despite government release of the metal. Chile has lost a lot of production through strikes and Zambia may have difficulty in supplying the outer world if there is war in Rhodesia. The time could quickly come when the copper companies will have to defy Johnson on price merely in order to ration what copper they have.

3. Speaking of prices, the cost of fruits and vegetables is up 25 per cent over five years ago. A housewives' rebellion is still a possibility. Moreover, the $106-billion federal spending for fiscal 1966 and the presumably bigger sum needed for fiscal 1967 spell more inflation, not less.

4. The smouldering war between Sargent Shriver and the big city Democratic mayors for control of the poverty program threatens to burst into the open, with unforeseen side effects on the 1966 elections. Franklin Roosevelt was always careful when it came to dealing with such city bosses as Frank Hague of Jersey City and the Kelly-Nash machine of Chicago. Can LBJ behave differently? And if he does support the machines, what about the Negro vote?

5. "Kennedy trouble" is looming. Sen. Bobby Kennedy of New York seems bent on building his own Democratic following among the younger voters and the college generation that will be reaching voting age by 1968 or 1972.

6. The "peace" drive of the "New Left," which is edged along by Communists of both the orthodox and the Maoist or Trotskyist variety, spells trouble for our foreign policy in several ways. To begin with, it could impress Congress if it fails to provoke a sizable counter-movement among the young. Secondly, it prolongs the Vietnamese war by misleading Red China's Mao Tse-tung and North Viet Nam's Ho Chi Minh. Thirdly, it encourages the de Gaulles to downgrade the United States as "stupid" in more things than its support of South Viet Nam.

7. The rising expectations among the eggheads of "Utopia tomorrow" are leading to impatience about such things as halting nuclear proliferation and solving the race problems of Rhodesia and South Africa. The escalation of expectations leads to impossible demands inside the United Nations.

8. The forthcoming election in the Dominican Republic promises to pose the issue of a "new Cuba" all over again. LBJ stands to be damned if he employs the Marines again, and damned if he doesn't.

9. The old coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern and Western Republicans will most certainly fight any renewed attempt to repeal section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section which now permits the states to develop their own policies on compulsory unionism.

This list could undoubtedly be amplified. But as it stands it calls for some new miracles of mastery by the Old Master.

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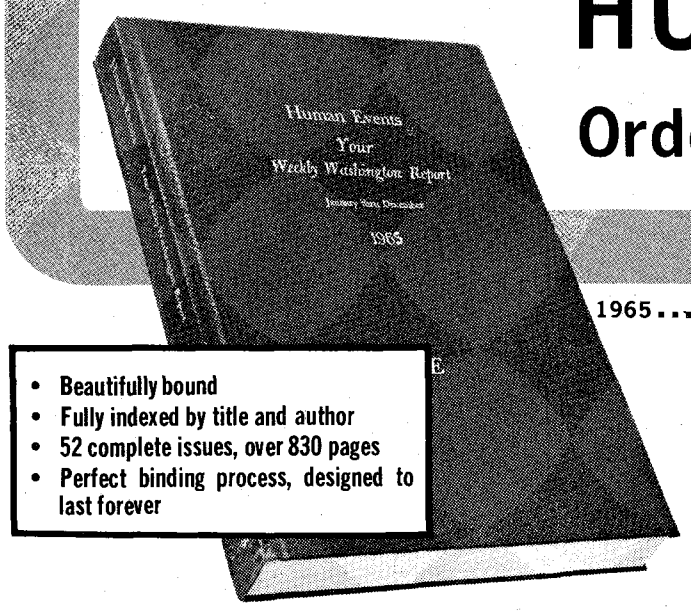

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Yes, 1965 was the year of the Great Leap Leftward, thanks mainly to the amazing agility of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the craftiest manipulator of political power ever to occupy the White House.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. James Harvey (R.-Mich.) predicts the Administration "will attempt to salvage its controversial rent supplement program" in the upcoming Congress. Guidelines for the plan, Harvey said, "would allow rent subsidies of as much as 70 per cent of a person's rent to be paid to individuals with assets of as much as $25,000. This certainly was not the intent of Congress." Harvey led the bi-partisan House coalition that sidetracked the rent subsidy program in the last session of Congress.

HARVEY

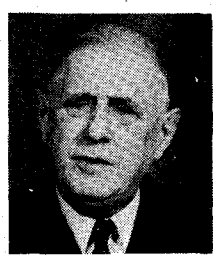
• *Reporting on the AFL-CIO's biennial convention in San Francisco, veteran labor reporter Frank C. Porter writes that Walter Reuther still has the inside track to replace George Meany as president. Porter describes Reuther's political tactics of ingratiating himself with Meany this way: "Without losing any of his basic militancy, Reuther has tended to mellow, to minimize his remaining differences with Meany, to approach opposing views with a diplomatic tolerance. He has taken to praising Meany publicly, in almost extravagant terms."*

• Speculation continues as to who will replace McGeorge Bundy, LBJ's chief foreign policy adviser attached to the White House. Some of the names bandied about: State Department planning chieftain Walt W. Rostow; McGeorge's brother, William Bundy; and even White House press secretary Bill Moyers. No real significance is attached to Bundy's resignation, but it's another case of a Kennedy man's being eliminated from influence in the LBJ Administration.

BUNDY

• *Though smiling on the outside, a number of businessmen are still miffed over a number of LBJ policies including recent moves to dump aluminum, copper and wheat on the market to force prices downward. Yet still another LBJ move is rankling the business community: The Administration has disclosed it will announce a series of specific "voluntary" programs aimed at reducing the flow of private investment capital overseas next year. This new LBJ "managed economy" program developed when the United States racked up a whopping balance-of-payments deficit in the third quarter. (For a report on some businessmen who are playing along with the "Great Society," see page 6.)*

• Diplomatic experts in Washington say that the recent elections in France show that Charles de Gaulle's strategy of appeasing the left has failed. In spite of his fawning over both the Red Chinese and the Soviets, he was unable to win the radicals to a de Gaulle consensus, winding up with less than 44 per cent of the vote. The left-wing candidate, Francois Mitterrand, who had heavy Communist backing, wound up capturing over one-third of the ballots cast.


DeGAULLE

• *A tri-continental congress of subversion will open in Hanava January 3, according to the authoritative Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba. The committee adds: "Backed by Soviet Russia and Red China, the Havana meeting aims at pulling the combined Communist apparatus together in a unified attempt to subvert most of the world. Havana has been chosen as the site, according to the Cuban radio, to dramatize the impotence of the United States to do anything about it." (For more on Castro's subversion tactics see page 12.)*

This Week in Washington

Return of the Coup Maker

When the Lansdale mission went to South Viet Nam some four months ago, there was much applause from anti-Communists in both this country and abroad. For Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale (USAF, Ret.) has become an anti-Communist folk hero in his own time. Adored by Asians, he has also been a favorite of such tough-on-Red Americans as Senators Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) and Karl Mundt (R.-S. D.).

His spectacular exploits have been touched upon in two works of fiction, *The Ugly American* and *The Quiet American*. An expert in psychological and guerrilla warfare, he is credited with devising the strategy which whipped the Communist Huks in the Philippines. He became a key adviser to Ngo Dinh Diem—and was against his overthrow; his valuable advice enabled the late leader of South Viet Nam to create a country from the shambles left by the fighting between the French and Ho Chi Minh's Red warriors.

When most experts predicted the South Viet Nam government would fall to the Reds within weeks of the 1954 Geneva agreements, Diem, with Lansdale advising, was able to hold off the would-be conquerors.

Hence, there was every reason to believe that the new Lansdale mission would turn into a diplomatic and military plus for the United States—and, indeed, it still may turn into just that. But there is no shirking the fact that the mission has got off to an agonizing start.

Sent over to establish rapport with the Communist-embattled Saigon regime and build up a loyalty to the nation among the free rural Vietnamese, the Lansdale mission has rubbed the Saigon government the wrong way. The fault was not initially that of Lansdale himself, but of the *London Economist* and the Research Institute of America.

The institute, whose sponsors have been allies of Lansdale, distributed a circular to business executives which hinted that Lansdale was out to begin another coup. This hardly helped Lansdale in his task of trying to gain the confidence of the vigorously anti-Communist Saigon government or in his plans to pacify the countryside.

The *London Economist* fanned the flames of discord by categorically claiming a coup was in the offing. These reports by themselves had an amazingly unnerving effect on the present Saigon regime.

But what has really sent shockwaves through the current government there is that the Johnson Administration, over the objections of the South Viet Nam government, has sent back to Viet Nam Ngo Dinh Diem's "executioner," Lt. Col. Lucien E. Conein (USA, Ret.). He is, ominously, attached to the Lansdale mission.

Though it must be said here that no one who really knows Lansdale believes he personally desires any sort of coup, Conein's presence has lent an unsettling believability to the coup rumors.

Col. Conein has an intriguing background. A former OSS agent in World War II, he married a Vietnamese woman whom he met in North Viet Nam before the French were forcibly ejected. There is more than just mere speculation that he has done operations for the Central Intelligence Agency; his current home is in McLean, Va., a veritable nest of CIA agents. Some foreign intelligence officials have described him as "king of the coup-makers" and he is often characterized as "lean and vindictive."

There is no doubt that Conein was instrumental in the ousting of Ngo Dinh Diem. Asian correspondent Marguerite Higgins recently wrote: "At least seven different Vietnamese generals and colonels, plus a handful of top Americans, have told me independently that—in the words of one Vietnamese—'The American Col. Conein [attached then to the U.S. Embassy in Saigon]—participated in every meeting during the overthrow. He was at our rebel command post the whole day and night."

Said another: "Col. Conein also had his own means of communication with the U.S. Embassy and produced almost hourly reports."

The record, states Miss Higgins, shows that Lodge was supplied the time, place and cast of characters of the November 1 revolt by Col. Conein.

Human Events, in fact, learned that Conein actually bragged about his role in the coup when he returned to the Washington cocktail circuit from Saigon. When his wife was contacted by *Human Events* last week, she admitted that her husband had been credited with the Diem coup. At least one Vietnamese has said that Conein was actually responsible for Diem's death—that he could have prevented his execution but refused to do so. Another reliable source says Conein has been associated with other coups in Viet Nam.

Why has Conein been forced down the throats of the new Saigon government, particularly since it is vigorously anti-Communist and is carrying out many of the reforms demanded by American policy makers?

This is a question both Americans and Vietnamese often ask. The Saigon regime, it is reliably reported, made it clear—without sending a formal note of protest—that it was definitely against Conein's presence. With Henry Cabot Lodge, who was also involved in the Diem coup, back as our ambassador to Saigon, it was obvious the Conein addition would stir up further fears of another American-backed coup.

But the Administration apparently insisted that Conein return to his old stomping grounds. He was forced on the Vietnamese even with the knowledge that a number of valuable anti-Communist Vietnamese would balk at working for their government as long as Conein remained in Viet Nam. This, in fact, has already happened.

Thus the Lansdale mission, whose avowed purpose is to rally all of the free Vietnamese against the Communists, has unfortunately sowed much division and mistrust, primarily because somebody wanted "Conein the coup-maker" back in Viet Nam. The questions that remain to be answered are: who thrust the colonel down the throats of the Vietnamese? Why would Washington desire Conein in Viet Nam at this critical juncture? And, has the United States received any peace feelers indicating that the Viet Cong would sit down at the negotiating table if the current Saigon regime is overthrown?

Foreign Reds Aid Peaceniks

The Soviet-sponsored International Union of Students (ISU) and assorted Eastern European missions of the Viet Cong are two main forces behind the peace marches in the United States.

These Red groups, reported New York *Herald Tribune* foreign correspondent Seymour Freidin last week, have skillfully inserted themselves into the "activities of militant American student groups protesting against the United States role in Viet Nam."

After prodigious inquiry and double-checks, said Freidin in a London dispatch, previously skeptical "Western governments have satisfied themselves" that American peace marches have "special Communist backing, consultation and cash contributions."

"Foremost, best-heeled and highly experienced in providing support and advice is the Prague-based International Union of Students (ISU)," said Freidin. Organized by the Soviets some 20 years ago, it has a worldwide affiliated apparatus. Leadership remains in the hands of professional Russian and Eastern European students, many in their mid-'30s or older.

The ISU, Freidin charged, has managed in the last few months "to circulate a lexicon of terms ['people's war,' 'Fascist junta'] now frequently heard in

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militant American student demonstrations." A do-it-yourself method of making Viet Cong flags like those borne on several "peace" marches has been distributed by the ISU, Frieden said, and "Contributions in money orders and small but numerous gifts of cash by donors using mail drops across the United States have fortified the deficit financing of many demonstrations."

Contacts with the ISU or Viet Cong missions were made by American students travelling to Eastern Europe last summer. To sift out non-believers and skeptics, the ISU and Viet Cong handed out literature at first. If the student seemed interested or possessed letters of recommendation, he became more acquainted with the Red operation.

ISU bulletins have been brought to the United States, copied and disseminated to American campuses.

"The ISU appeal," said Freidin, "has almost word for word been reproduced in California, where student demonstrations have been among the most active . . . . "

The Viet Cong missions, reported Freidin, offer lectures, leaflets and propaganda techniques to promote their side. "In the last fortnight they have begun to offer a few selected prospects invitations to go to North Viet Nam to talk directly to Viet Cong representatives there. . . . No American student, as far as is known, has been invited to go into the war zone of the south. That offer, informants fully believe, is the next step."

Mac the Knife

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's blockbuster—that he plans to scrap almost two-thirds of the Strategic Air Command's manned bomber fleet in five to six years—has once again raised the ominous spectre of unilateral disarmament. While McNamara claims missiles will replace the bombers, a number of commentators note the announcement comes right on the heels of a disarmament study put forth by the White House Conference on International Cooperation held at the Sheraton Park Hotel not quite two weeks ago.

The disarmament study, partially drafted by McNamara's ex-No. 2 man, Roswell Gilpatric, called for scrapping our strategic weapons and even claimed the proposal that we slash our "strategic inventories" on the "order of a one-third cut" was worth "serious consideration."

Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), remarked of McNamara's move: "If he is right, we will save a few dollars. If he is in error, may a Benign Providence save these United States."

Chairman John Stennis (D.-Miss.) of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee criticized both the bomber phase-out and the deactivation of Reserve and Air National Guard Air Transport Units.

"The drastic reduction in our strategic striking power which will come about as a result of the phase-out announced by Mr. McNamara is to me an unnecessary and unwarranted gamble with our national security at a time we can ill afford it," Stennis stressed.

Stennis said he is "greatly disturbed" by the phase-out of all B58s and B52s except models G and H "in the absence of a concurrent decision to proceed with the development and procurement of a follow-on manned bomber.

"I cannot understand the logic of such a move . . . we are even today using our B52s in tactical operations in Viet Nam."

McNamara's move will reduce the U.S. fleet of strategic bombers to about 250. When Barry Goldwater, during the 1964 presidential campaign, charged that such a reduction was planned, the defense secretary denied it.

A year ago, in fact, McNamara told Congress that under his plans, "We would still have a force of about 670 manned bombers in 1970."

As to McNamara's decision to deactivate Reserve and National Guard Airlift units, Stennis said many of them have been supporting operations in Viet Nam. "I must say," he continued, "in view of the increasing intensity of the conflict in Southeast Asia and the unsettled conditions in other parts of the world, I find it difficult to reconcile a degradation of our airlift capacity with the increasing build-up of our active forces and our commitment."

Stennis said it would have been "wise and appropriate" for McNamara at least to have deferred until after the Senate Preparedness subcommittee had reported on U.S. airlift and sealift capabilities.

The Watts Story

The blue-ribbon California commission to investigate the Watts riots has turned up some findings that not only are damaging to Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown's administration, but clash sharply with the theories of civil rights agitators.

Headed by former CIA chieftain John McCone, the commission chastised Brown's lieutenant governor, Glenn M. Anderson, for his delay in honoring Los Angeles Police Chief William Parker's request for National Guard support. Anderson, acting in Brown's absence, received a request for troops at 11 a.m. Friday, August 13, but it was not until six hours later that he signed the proclamation releasing them.

This item alone could severely hurt Brown's and the Democrats' chances for re-election in 1966.

Beyond the immediate political implications of the report, however, the Watts panel also takes on the civil rights groups and their avid supporters.

The report contends, for example, that "extremist" Negro leaders contributed to the causes of the riots and hurt programs aimed at solving Negro problems. " . . . [T]he angry exhortations and the resulting disobedience for law in many parts of our nation appear to have contributed importantly to the feeling of rage which made the Los Angeles riots possible," said the panel.

The Watts commission, moreover, sharply rejected charges that Chief Parker showed any prejudice against Negroes, either by word or action, and it also turned thumbs down on a civilian review board, saying such a group would hamper law enforcement.

The commission also dismissed accusations that "police brutality" triggered the riot. The specific cause was the arrest of Marquette Frye, a 21-year-old Negro, on a charge of reckless driving. The commission, however, found "no basis for criticizing the judgment of officers on the scene."

The commission's report took on yet another sacred cow of the liberals: welfare. Excessive welfare, suggested the report, might actually have contributed to the rioting because it attracted potential rioters to California.

The commission was "profoundly disturbed by the accelerating trend of expenditure in welfare" and stated that it "raises a question in the minds of some whether the generosity of the California welfare program compared with those in the Southern and Southwestern states is not one of the factors causing the heavy immigration of disadvantaged people to Los Angeles."

Regarding outside agitation, the McCone panel found "no reliable evidence of . . . pre-established plans for rioting," but it did remark on the sudden appearance of Molotov cocktails in great quantity and handbills aimed at inciting the Negroes, tracing these to several well-organized gangs.

While the Watts panel advocated increased schooling and better jobs for Negroes, it pointed out that the Mexican-American population which suffers some of the same disadvantages as the Negroes, did not riot. It also added: "No amount of money, no amount of effort, no amount of training will raise the disadvantaged Negro to the point he seeks and should have within this community—a position of equality—unless he himself shoulders a full share of the responsibility for his own well being."

• Some politicos are speculating that LBJ is not really angry with Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin for raising the interest rates because he realized the rates had to rise to stop the dollar exodus to Europe and keep down prices at home. LBJ, it is said, may only have feigned his anger in order to avoid receiving any blame if the pace of the economy slows down. How earnest LBJ is should become apparent when the term of the conservative Vice Chairman of the Board, C. Canby Balderston, expires January 31. Balderston lined up with Martin in the 4-to-3 decision to hike the rates and LBJ can, if he wants, replace him with a soft-money man.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) was denounced last week by a judge for using "every trick and device in the book to flout the law" in a defamation action against him. Powell is "not to be believed or trusted," declared New York Supreme Court Justice Saul S. Streit. "No one in this country is above the law—not even Adam Clayton Powell," Streit added. Powell has for almost two years dodged payment of a $46,500 judgment obtained by a Harlem woman slandered by the congressman on a New York television program.

POWELL

• *Parents in Bayside High School in Queens, N.Y., have been angered recently. Reason? After dropping a requirement that students sing the fourth stanza of "America" because a 16-year-old girl complained it was a "prayer," the school decided it was perfectly proper for a student discussion group to show a pro-Viet Cong film put out by the pro-Communist May 2nd Movement.*

• "Peace" and civil rights leaders in Chicago have mapped plans for a third political force that would run candidates on "an essentially radical platform." Organizers of the united front include Paul Booth, national secretary of the far-left Students for a Democratic Society; Tim Black, president of the Negro-American Labor Council; comedian Dick Gregory; and leaders of the Independent Voters of Illinois, state branch of the Americans for Democratic Action.

GREGORY

• The Crisis, *official house organ of the NAACP, is offering its readers supposedly authoritative books on the Negro. Among them:* American Negro Slave Revolts, *by Herbert Aptheker. Aptheker is the chief theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*

• Massachusetts apple growers have charged that short-sighted policies of Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz have cost them $1 million this year despite a banner crop. They say Wirtz' refusal to permit the importation of highly skilled Canadian pickers at harvest time was largely responsible for the fact that 20 per cent of the 1965 crop rotted on the trees. The use of untrained pickers from the unemployment rolls and federal Youth Corps members was a total failure.

WIRTZ

• *Jay H. Cerf, manager of the International department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, writes in the New York* Times Magazine *that American industry should "do more business with the Communists."*

• Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) scoffs at Administration claims the federal budget can't be cut. "There are many areas where substantial savings can be realized," he says. "For example, foreign aid spending should be cut to the bone. The phony 'War on Poverty' ought to be curtailed. The cost of the space program—now estimated at a whopping $5.6 billion for the year—could be reduced by a substantial amount. And what possible justification can there be for such non-essential spending programs as subsidies to promote art and culture when there is a war to be won?"

GROSS

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$1 Million in Ads to Help Democrats

Industry's Gift to LBJ

The Socialistic "Great Society" that LBJ is fastening upon America should not be blamed solely on ideological liberals or the AFL-CIO. The blame also lies with fat-cat businessmen who have been gorging themselves—at public expense—on juicy government contracts.

Indeed, to prove the point one only has to reflect on the million-dollar political Christmas present Johnson is receiving from 68 major corporations. The story was originally broken by reporter Robert S. Boyd of the Chicago *Daily News*.

LBJ's Christmas gift comes in the form of full-page ads purchased by defense contractors and other businesses in a glossy, full-color book of tributes to the President's "Great Society." Revenue from the ads—at $15,000 a page—will go to help elect Democratic congressmen next November so they can pass more Johnson legislation.

The 176-page slick-paper book, something on the order of *Esquire* magazine, is entitled "Toward an Age of Greatness." It contains 11 long articles, signed by Cabinet members and other high federal officials, detailing the supposedly marvelous accomplishments of the "Great Society." Pictures of the President with excerpts of his speeches are scattered through the illustrated volume.

Noted reporter Boyd: "Kicking in $15,000 apiece for the project—a brainchild of Democratic National Treasurer Richard Maguire—are such giants of the business establishment as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, General Tire and Xerox Corp.

"Big defense contractors like Lockheed, Sperry Rand, Hughes Aircraft, Martin-Marietta and Ling-Temco Vought, also paid their share."

Harvey Aluminum, knee-scraping before the very Administration which recently forced it to rescind a price hike, bought a page to "join in honoring an illustrious President, a distinguished Congress, and an outstanding Administration, impressive in accomplishments and dedicated to the principles of democracy." Harvey Aluminum conveniently overlooked such principles as free enterprise and a free market.

Another victim of the aluminum price war, Alcoa, also bought an ad.

International Telephone and Telegraph used its page, said Boyd, to brag of its accomplishments at its Camp Kilmer Job Corps installation—a project which has recently been immersed in scandal. "Elsewhere in the book," noted Boyd, "appears an article by Poverty War Chief Sargent Shriver, who holds the strings on ITT's contract."

A vast array of firms subject to federal regulations purchased ads—like railroads, pipelines and shipping lines eager for government subsidies.

International Paper, Dresser Industries of Dallas, Tex., and Paramount Theatres, a division of the American Broadcasting Co., took out ads. So did soft-drink companies like Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola and Pabst and Schlitz beer makers.

Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., which happened to be the major subcontractor for the controversial multi-billion-dollar TFX contract, took out an ad. (This is not the first time Grumman has been involved in this sort of activity. In 1963 the company urged firms with which it did business to place full-page ads costing a whopping $3,000 a page in the Nassau [N.Y.] *Democratic County Journal*, a Democratic party publication of limited circulation.)

Expenses of publishing the book, said Boyd, are estimated at less than $100,000. "The remaining $900,000 or so will be turned over to a series of State Committees on Voter Education."

Such committees, noted Boyd, have been organized by Democrats in about 20 states as "a thinly disguised fund-raising device."

The money is supposed to be used for registration, get-out-the-vote and other "voter education" drives—not specifically to elect Democrats or Republicans.

"However," remarked Boyd, "a spokesman for the Democratic National Committee acknowledged that 'obviously, they are going to try to register and vote people who support the President's program.'

"Even so, the spokesman insisted the ads do not represent 'political contributions' by the corporations, forbidden under the Corrupt Practices Act.

"About 250,000 of the books were printed. They will be distributed free to people who attend a series of fund-raising movie premieres expected to net another $2 to $3 million for 'voter education.'"

Remarked the pro-Democratic Washington *Post* about the whole mess:

"If the Democratic campaign book, 'Toward an Age of Greatness,' is not a direct violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, it is a shabby end-run around it. . . .

"[T]he law provides stiff penalties for anyone who, having entered into a contract with the government, contributes money 'or any other thing of value' to any political party or 'to any person for any political purpose or use.'

"Another section of the statute sets up penalties for anyone who 'purchases or buys any goods, commodities, advertising or articles of any kind or description' if any part of the proceeds therefrom 'directly or indirectly inures to the benefit of or for any candidate for an elective federal office.' The general provision designed to keep corporations out of politics forbids them to make any 'contribution or expenditure in connection with' a federal election . . . .

"Sponsors of the Age of Greatness insist that the $15,000-a-page ads are not 'political contributions' by corporations. Profits from the venture, estimated at $900,000, will go not to regular party treasuries, but to 'State Committees on Voter Education.' But this flimsy camouflage does not change the essential nature of the operation. It remains a highly dubious commandeering of corporate funds for partisan purposes. . . .

"Meanwhile a public outcry against slick methods of party financing is in order regardless of who employs them. If the law on the books is too fragile to curb this kind of impropriety, public opinion can still make it a risky practice."

□ □ □

TREASURY WISHES people would use more $2 bills. Actually, of course, they would—if they could just be assured of getting their dollar's worth.—By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

Why Should Defector Get Hero's Welcome?

By PAUL HARVEY

A defector is about to get lionized as a hero.

So confounded confused has one national news magazine become that it's got the bad guy wearing the white hat.

Morris Robert Wills is no hero. Whatever you may read in the next few weeks, this guy is an unrepentant three-dollar bill.

Wills was captured in Korea in May 1951. In 1953 he refused repatriation. He elected to remain with the Reds rather than return home. Now he is home free on a red carpet, basking in limelight and with a guaranteed livelihood.

When what I am about to say gets overheard in Viet Nam, I'm fearful some disgusted dogface might figure it pays to surrender. But if he didn't hear it here, he'd read it shortly anyway.

On Nov. 4, 1965, with the blessing and forgiveness of our State Department, Wills, his wife, Li Kai-yen, and their 15-month-old daugher, Linda Lee, returned to the United States.

Their transportation from Red China was paid for by the magazine. Wills has a lucrative contract with that magazine to write a story of his experience.

Wills' depature from Hong Kong was expedited by the State Department in view of his magazine contract. In San Francisco, Wills was met by the magazine's representative.

On Nov. 16, 1965, Wills, his wife and child, accompanied by personnel of the magazine, arrived at his one-time home, Fort Ann, N.Y. He was photographed at his home, with relatives—and at his mother's grave.

This sentimental journey lasted only until the flash bulbs were used up. The following day found Wills in New York City working with one of the magazine's writers on the story which that publication is about to serialize.

The magazine has provided him with transportation home, with a considerable cash retainer, is paying his current expenses and—if he cannot find a suitable job—has promised to upkeep him for the next two years. If the story makes a movie he can be rich.

The job will be no problem.

Wills claims that several universities have offered to employ him as a *teacher*.

The FBI has conducted an investigation of this turncoat. The case was in suspension while he was self-exiled beyond the Bamboo Curtain, but a decision is upcoming on whether he may be prosecuted for treason and/or sedition.

Meanwhile, this collaborator with the enemy—this character who thumbed his nose at his sworn oath as an American soldier—who turned his back on his country and his flag—this defective Morris Wills is being pitied, pampered and promoted into a returning hero!

Around the Saigon canteens they'll make him next month's pinup picture

Korean War turncoat Morris Wills is shown on his arrival in San Francisco from Hong Kong.

on the dart boards. And some decent kid who is about to die to keep the Communists out of Fort Ann, N.Y., will look on and wonder.

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□ □ □

SENATOR SOAPER OPINES:—The new nickel-and-copper quarters make it easier to spot a bad coin. If it looks good, it's counterfeit.—From the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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Schlesinger's Book on Kennedy

History as It Should Not Be Written

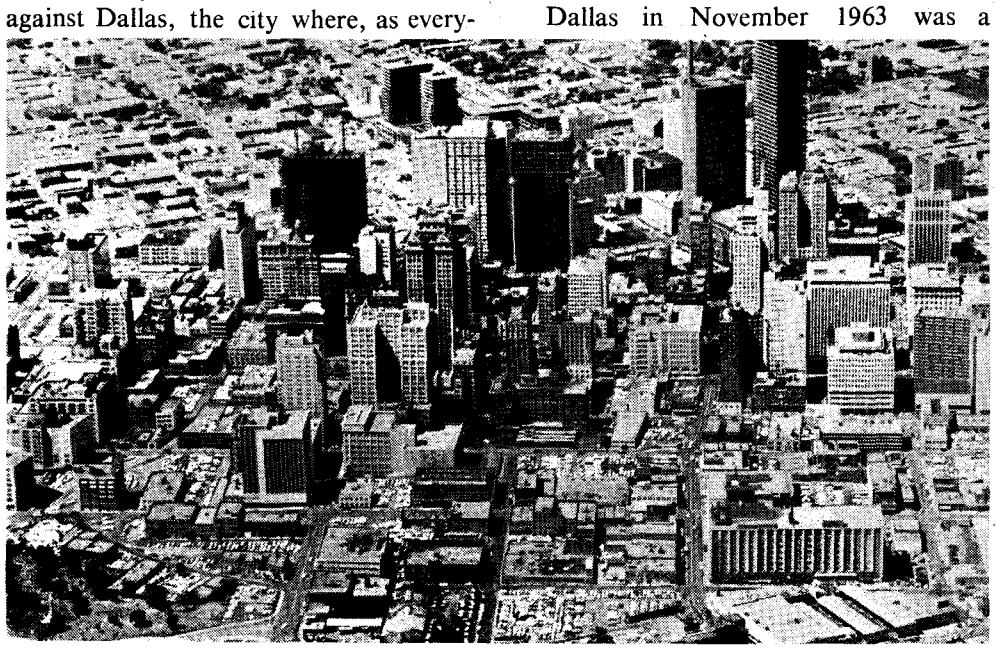
By ALICE WIDENER

Knowledge of the facts of history, not its interpretation, forms the solid ground from which free people can base their search for education and wisdom. Deprived of basic historical facts, thinkers' minds are blind. Surely, Pulitizer Prize historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., a long-time professor at Harvard University, is aware of the role of facts in history. Surely too, this former special assistant to the late President John F. Kennedy was aware of the historical responsibilities in writing *A Thousand Days*. Therefore, it is more than intellectually embarrassing for anyone writing on national affairs to read Mr. Schlesinger's book; it is morally shocking.

The final chapter of *A Thousand Days* is headed "Autumn 1963." Part 10 of this chapter is headed "Dallas" and begins on page 1,020. From there on, in this "history" book, there is a diatribe against Dallas, the city where, as everyone knows, the brutal assassination of John F. Kennedy took place, but there is no mention of the assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. It is as if he had not existed. Oswald, a self-professed Marxist and pro-Communist arrested for the killing of Kennedy, is the man who wasn't there in Dallas—according to author Schlesinger.

Thinking there must have been a printing error in the book, with perhaps a page or two missing, I searched through more than 50 pages of the fine-print index for reference to Lee Harvey Oswald. It wasn't under the O's, so I turned to the L's, and then, more and more aghast, to the H's. Nothing. There is detailed description of Dallas as the killer, but no mention of Oswald, even as a "suspected" assassin!

Dallas in November 1963 was a "peculiar place," writes "historian" Schlesinger. It was "the newest rich city in the country." The manners of the oil-rich east Texas "plutocracy" had been "somewhat refined by Neiman-Marcus (department store)" declares Mr. Schlesinger; but the city's politics were kept "in a primitive and angry state by the Dallas *Morning News* . . . ."



In Arthur Schlesinger's account of President Kennedy's assassination, there is a diatribe against the city of Dallas (above), but no mention of the Marxist assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald.

With descriptive power springing much more from antagonistic emotion than objective observation, the author of *A Thousand Days* continues, "A white collar city, it had neither a traditional aristocracy nor a strong labor movement to diversify its opinions or temper its certitudes."

Then, adding defamation to sweeping false generalization, Mr. Schlesinger writes, "The fundamentalist religious background of many of its inhabitants had instilled a self-righteous absolutism of thought. The Dallas Citizens' Council, an organization of leading businessmen, imposed a solid uniformity of values and attitudes, and the whole community, with bank clerks and real estate hustlers sporting Stetsons and sombreros, carefully cultivated the myth of the old Texas and its virile, hard-riding, hard-shooting men taking the law into their own hands."

Get it? Lee Harvey Oswald, the Marxist who wasn't there, didn't kill Kennedy; it was the leading Dallas businessmen, religious fundamentalists, bank clerks and real estate salesmen. What about the fact that the Warren Commission found that Oswald, who had broadcast in New Orleans for the pro-Communist Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was "solely responsible" for killing President Kennedy? Evidently, "historian" Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., couldn't care less. In his opinion, as revealed in his book, Dallas killed Kennedy. This is the way Schlesinger wants it; this is the way he is going to have it—Lee Harvey Oswald notwithstanding.

There is a significance to this distortion, indeed intellectual aberration, that goes far beyond the printed words in A Thousand Days. **Schlesinger's big lie of omission constitutes proof of a prevailing weakness in our contemporary American intellectual and cultural life. More and more it is being pre-empted by a clique of mutual admirers and professionally incestuous reputation builders among the left-liberal centers at Ivy League institutions and their satrapy in the communications media.**

Recently a French chemical engineer, Jean Claude Vierne, who spent 1963 in the Soviet Union, said, "The truth in Russia is what the government says it is." Here at home we are in serious danger of being misled into the situation, "The truth in the United States is what the liberal clique says it is."

On November 29, the New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard-Times* said editorially that there already is an important postscript to publication of Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s new book: "The author admits he's a liar." (Schlesinger confessed to the New York *Times* "I was lying, then," when that paper called his attention to discrepancies between what he told the *Times* about the Bay of Pigs disaster when it occurred and what he writes about it in his book.)

The New Bedford paper then asks if the role of liar was Prof. Schlesinger's role when he discussed historically the Sacco-Vanzetti case and recorded for posterity that the two men were "carrying literature" when arrested, whereas they actually were carrying guns. The sober *Standard-Times* concludes, "The image that Mr. Schlesinger is creating for himself is not one to be recommended for edification of students or as adviser to a President."

Prof. James MacGregor Burns, liberal clique member who reviewed *A Thousand Days* for the new York *Times*, praised it as a model historical document. He is right. Only the book is a model for 1984 newspeak of the fictional Orwellian era in which "white is black" and "war is peace." For the sake of truth, education and freedom, let us pray this fictional future era never becomes a nightmarish reality.

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Why Right-to-Work Laws Are Needed

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

This is "the land of the free and the home of the brave," isn't it? Well, how "free" does this sound to you?

In Milwaukee, a businessman named Levi Mews faces a possible 30-day jail sentence. What for? He has refused to fire an employe for not joining a labor union.

A man named Laverne Schlei went to work for Mews Ready Mix Corp. Local 139 of the Operating Engineers Union claimed Mr. Schlei had to join the union or be fired by Mr. Mews, because the union had wrangled a "union shop" contract out of the company.

Mr. Schlei didn't join and Mr. Mews didn't fire him. So the union took the case into court. Now the Wisconsin Supreme Court has upheld a sentence of 30 days against Mr. Mews. His only recourse is to file a petition for a rehearing of the case, or be sent to jail.

Isn't that a disgusting, tyrannical thing? It has happened because Wisconsin doesn't have a right-to-work law.

That sort of thing can't happen in Tennessee or in the 18 other states that have right-to-work laws.

But President Lyndon B. Johnson and his labor boss allies want to kill Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act so they can impose the coercion of the Wisconsin situation on individuals throughout the whole nation.

Congress, backed by alerted Americans who believe in free choice, thwarted Mr. Johnson and the labor bosses in the last session of Congress. But the LBJ-AFL-CIO political combine will be back with a new effort next year.

Do you approve a situation in which a man can be sent to jail for not firing a worker for making his own decision on what he will or will not join?

Is this really "the land of the free and the home of the brave"? Are we "brave" enough to keep it "free?"

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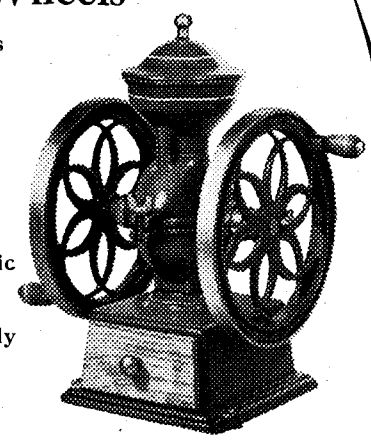

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Remember to Give Human Events This Christmas. See Page 16

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The Viet Cong's American Allies

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

In the absence of a declaration of war, an American's right to oppose the foreign policy of his government is unchallengeable. This right to dissent must be protected; it is one of the many rights for which Americans have always fought and died.

No U.S. citizen, however, has a right to encourage American troops in the field to mutiny against their officers and to commit acts of sabotage which will cause the death of their comrades.

The right to dissent does not cover the open advocation of treason on the battlefield. Yet that is just what is urged in the final lines of the propaganda pamphlet printed below.

If an American soldier in Viet Nam passed this seditionist sheet among his fellows, he could be shot for aiding the enemy in the field. We ask that the Federal Bureau of Investigation turn up the home-grown traitors who mailed this subversive propaganda to our troops, and that they be prosecuted as enemies of their country.

The pamphlet is a potpourri of errors, over-simplifications, half-truths, exaggerations and lies, big and small, ending in a call to soldiers, sailors and airmen to sabotage the war effort in Viet Nam. It reeks of perfidy.

"We are supposed to be fighting to protect democracy in Viet Nam, and yet . . . South Viet Nam is run by a dictatorship," the paper smugly asserts.

Yes, a military government headed by one man runs South Viet Nam. For the very good reason that this peasant country is fighting for its life, with huge areas under Red domination, every province subject to guerrilla terror and attack.

The only men who will demand that democratic institutions commence operating throughout the country at once are complete fools or Communists.

Our objective is not to impose American-syle "democracy" on the people of Viet Nam. American men, money and treasure are being spent there to prevent the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese invaders from seizing the country and subjecting the people to the ruthless and wholesale tyranny which communism has imposed upon the people of every single nation it has conquered.

As for the Geneva Agreements, neither the United States nor South Viet Nam signed those fraudulent documents. To demand that the people of South Viet Nam subject themselves to the outcome of an election where the majority of the voters are under the heel of Ho Chi Minh, is to ask them to submit to certain Communist tyranny. No free and sane man would accept such an outrage.

Nor is it possible to accept the Big Lie that American dollars are ordering American troops to fire on innocent women and children.

As for the use of aircraft, America has made every effort to limit civilian casualties to the minimum humanly possible. But if we stop using those planes, we allow these terrorists to fight the war under their own ground rules. We would give them victory by default.

At issue in Viet Nam is whether the West has the stamina, will and ability to fight and win a dirty guerrilla war where the enemy is free to employ wholesale terror, torture and the murder of innocents. If we do not prove here and now that we can defeat such an enemy, these tactics will be imitated by every Communist element in every backward rural land on earth.

If the people support the Viet Cong, as the pamphlet alleges, why have not that great minority, the Buddhist religion, ever endorsed them? Why have not any of the dozens of opposition parties of Saigon ever endorsed them?

Why have a million people fled the north; why have hundreds of simple Vietnamese peasants and workers and students borne arms both in the army and in the village defense corps?

To suggest that the Viet Cong, who have tortured and murdered thousands of men, women and children, enjoy popular support in the south is asinine on its face.

To crudely compare the American effort to save a heroic people in a remote corner of Asia with Hitler's effort to subject Europe to his racist tyranny is a filthy slander upon the American people and Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

This is a scene at the Viet Nam Day Committee's headquarters in Berkeley, Calif., where the steering committee and paid workers turn out propaganda. Some of the VDC's anti-war leaflets have reached U.S. troops in Viet Nam.

And that is what this pamphlet is, a filthy stew of lies and distortions and half-truths and innuendo and slander. Those who would send such a rag to American troops risking their lives do not deserve to be called Americans.

Tantamount to Treason

Here Is the Notorious 'Viet Nam D

(Reprinted below, almost in its entirety, is a pamphlet put out by the "Viet Nam Day Committee" entitled "Attention All Military Personnel." It denigrates the American effort in Viet Nam and urges American soldiers, sailors and airmen to do their best to sabotage the U.S. war effort.

(Copies of the pamphlet have turned up in the hands of our fighting men in Viet Nam. The VDC denies having mailed them abroad.

(This pamphlet is reprinted to show readers to what lengths some of our people are willing to go to destroy the morale of the American troops and to bring an American withdrawal and military victory for the Viet Cong. An editorial about this pamphlet is printed above. The bold emphasis has been added.)

You may soon be sent to Viet Nam. You have heard about the war in the news; your officers will give you pep talks about it. But you probably feel as confused and uncertain as most Americans do.

Many people will tell you to just follow orders and leave the thinking to others. But you have the right to know as much about this war as anyone. After all, it's you—not your congressman—who might get killed.

We are supposed to be fighting to protect democracy in Viet Nam, and yet our own government admits that South Viet Nam is run by a dictatorship.

Gen. Ky, the latest military dictator, is as bad as they come.

In a recent interview he said: "People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one—Hitler. I admire Hitler because he pulled his country together when it was in a terrible state." (London *Sunday Mirror*, July 4, 1965).

Gen. Ky doesn't mean much to us; we're not even sure how to pronounce his name, but the South Vietnamese have lived under men like him for years.

As far as the Vietnamese are concerned, we are fighting on the side of Hitlerism: And they hope we lose.

U. S. military spokesmen have often said that their greatest problem is finding the enemy. The enemy, they say, is everywhere. The old woman feeding her chickens may have a stock of hand grenades in her hut.

The little boy who trails after the American soldiers during the day and slips out to give information to the guerrillas at night. The washer-woman at the American air base brings a bomb to work one day.

It is impossible, say the military, to tell which are the Viet Cong and which are the civilians.

And so because the whole Vietnamese people seem to be the enemy, the military is taking no chances. They use tear gas—a weapon designed for use against civilians. They order American troops to fire at women and children—because women and children, after all, are firing at American troops.

American fighter planes destroy civilian villages with napalm; American B-52s are flattening whole regions. That is why the war in Viet Nam is so often called a "dirty war."

When the South Vietnamese people see you in your foreign uniform, they will think of you as their enemy.

The Vietnamese would like to vote the foreigners out of their country, but they have been denied the chance.

According to the Geneva Agreement of 1954, there were supposed to be elections throughout Viet Nam in 1956. But the U.S. government was certain that our man in Viet Nam, Premier Diem, would lose.

So we decided not to allow any election until we were sure we could win. Diem set up a political police force and put all political opposition—Communist and anti-Communist—in jail.

By 1959, it was clear there weren't going to be any elections, and the guerrillas known as the Viet Cong began to fight back. By 1963 our government was fed up with Diem, but still wasn't willing to risk elections.

Our CIA helped a group of Vietnamese generals to overthrow Diem and kill him.

Your job as a solider is supposed to be "to win the people of South Viet Nam." Win them to what—democracy? No, we keep military dictators in power. What then?

The American way of life? But why should they care any more about our way of life than we care about theirs? We can't speak their language or even pronounce their names. . . .

You are supposed to be fighting "to save the Vietnamese people from communism." Certainly Communist influence is very strong in the National Liberation Front, the rebel government.

Yet most of the same people who now lead the NLF led the Vietnamese independence movement against the Japanese during World War II, and then went on to fight against French colonial rule.

Most Vietnamese think of the NLF leaders as their country's outstanding patriots.

On the other hand, very few Vietnamese support the official government of Gen. Ky. His army has low morale

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A Military Expert Speaks Out

What Johnson Must Do to Win in Viet Nam

LBJ's restrictions are seriously crippling our fighting forces

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Is Viet Nam really "a war which the United States cannot win"? This is the pitch of the American left in its thrust to undermine support of the war effort in Southeast Asia. Its spokesmen assert that U.S. power cannot be effective against guerrillas in the tropical jungles and that the United States should withdraw now instead of increasing its commitment.

It *is* true that the United States cannot win this war the way we are fighting it today. President Johnson has imposed restrictions on our fighting forces which make it impossible for them to win. And by win is meant President Johnson's stated objective of a cessation of Communist aggression.

These restraints on our military operations vastly increase our casualties and concede to the Communist aggressors the very advantages required for the success of their aggression. Until the President removes these limitations, it will be impossible to secure the independence of South Viet Nam.

The chief restrictions are these:

1. Viet Cong forces are based in Cambodia, whence they sally across the border to attack South Viet Nam. If Cambodia does not disarm and intern these forces in its own territory, South Viet Nam is authorized by international law to invade Cambodia and destroy the Viet Cong forces and bases there.

But President Johnson has forbidden Saigon to exercise this right and has thereby made it *impossible* for American and South Vietnamese forces to secure the border areas south of the 17th parallel. This is why the U.S. First Air Cavalry Division had to withdraw from the Ia Drang Valley.

2. The North Vietnamese are similarly using the eastern provinces of Laos, which are under Communist control, as a sanctuary from which to attack U.S. and South Vietnamese forces. They have at Tchepone in eastern Laos an airbase to which men and supplies are flown from North Viet Nam in support of Viet Cong operations.

Here, too, Saigon has every right under international law to invade Laos and destroy the enemy forces and bases there; President Johnson has once more forbidden them to do so. You cannot allow the enemy such advantages and successfully defend your country.

3. The people of South Viet Nam are subjected to the subversion and terror of Communist activists and Viet Cong military units. A very powerful and effective response would be the establishment of guerrillas for freedom to overthrow the regime of Ho Chi Minh and unify both north and south under a free government.

Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky and his predecessors in Saigon have long wanted to do this; President Johnson has forbidden them to do so.

4. The Johnson bombing of North Viet Nam is simply a phony. It deceives the American people with the illusion that the President has acted forcefully to eliminate this enemy sanctuary, when in fact he has carefully restricted the bombing so as to avoid really hurting the Hanoi regime.

It is precisely because President Johnson has imposed these restrictions on the conduct of the war that the hostilities have escalated steadily and our losses have continued to rise sharply.

The Vietniks are closer to the truth than our people realize—but only because our commander-in-chief lacks the will to win. Our present course can lead only to the demoralization of both the South Vietnamese and the American people. It is an absolute certainty that until President Johnson lifts these restrictions—which give every advantage to the aggressor—our forces cannot win.

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While on patrol, members of the U.S. Army cross a jungle river in previously Viet Cong-occupied territory. Recent rains had swollen the river, making footing very treacherous.

'Committee' Pamphlet

and a high desertion rate.

The newspapers and television have told us again and again what a tough fighter the Vietnamese guerrilla is.

Short of ammunition and without any air cover, he can beat forces that outnumber him five or 10 to one. Why do they have such high morale? They are not draftees; no draftees ever fight like that.

They are not high-paid, professional soldiers. Most of them are peasants who work their fields; they can't even spare the ammunition for target practice. Their secret is that they know why they are fighting. They didn't hear about Viet Nam in the newspapers; they've lived there all their lives. . . .

American troops have occupied their country; and if they complain out loud, an American-supported dictator sentences them to jail or the firing squad. Is it any wonder that they fight so fiercely?

The war in Viet Nam is not being fought according to the rules. Prisoners are tortured. Our planes drop incendiary bombs on civilian villages. Our soldiers shoot at women and children.

Your officers will tell you that it is all necessary, that we couldn't win the war any other way. And they are right. Americans are no more cruel than any other people. American soldiers don't enjoy this kind of war.

But if you are going to wage war against an entire people, you have to become cruel.

The ordinary German soldier in occupied Europe wasn't especially cruel, either. But as the resistance movements grew, he became cruel. He shot at women and children because they were shooting at him; he never asked himself why they were shooting at him.

When a certain town became a center of resistance activity, he followed his orders and destroyed the whole town. He knew that SS men were torturing captured resistance fighters, but it wasn't his business to interfere.

As a soldier you have been trained to obey orders, but as a human being you must take responsibility for your own acts.

International and American law recognize that an individual soldier, even if acting under orders, must bear final legal and moral responsibility for what he does.

We believe that the entire war in Viet Nam is criminal and immoral. We believe that the atrocities which are necessary to wage this war against the people of Viet Nam are inexcusable.

We hope that you too find yourself, as a human being, unable to tolerate this nightmare war, and we hope that you will oppose it. . . . A growing number of GIs have already refused to fight in Viet Nam and have been court-martialed. They have shown great courage. . . .

There may be many other things you can do; since you are in the service, you know better than civilians what sorts of opposition are possible. . . .

At orientation sessions, don't be afraid to ask questions, and if you're not satisfied with the answers, keep asking. Take every chance you get to talk to your fellow soldiers about the war.

You may feel the war is wrong, and still decide not to face a court-martial. You may then find yourself in Viet Nam under orders. You might be forced to do some fighting—but don't do any more than you have to. Good luck.

National Council of Churches Again Takes Appeasement Stand

From the Indianapolis *Star*

The National Council of Churches often shows sensitivity to the charge that it is, at best, naive, when it comes to understanding Communists. The council has also been accused of spending a great deal of time offering advice on international diplomatic and military affairs at the expense of dealing in more spiritual matters.

On December 3rd the NCC proposed that the United States halt the bombing of North Viet Nam long enough to create more favorable circumstances for peace negotiations.

The NCC also suggested that an effort be made to "induce" the North Viet Nam government to stop sending military personnel into South Viet Nam. The policy-making general board of the NCC approved the statement, thus making it a formal pronouncement of the council.

The council is a federation of most of the larger Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches in the United States supposedly representing some 40 million persons.

The NCC did not go into detail on just how it expects Communist North Viet Nam to be induced to stop sending personnel into South Viet Nam.

The international aggression of communism is well established and easily proven. There is no reason for grown men, at this late stage of the game, to think that Communists are men of good will.

The real question is whether the NCC can be induced to halt its incredible naivete, if it really is naivete, or ignorance, if it really is ignorance, concerning Communist plans.

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WHAT PEACE?—According to a recent pronouncement from Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, "There is a broader, firmer labor peace in the country today than there has been in a long time." But the Chamber of Commerce of the United States sees a much different picture. Using the Labor Department's own figures, the Chamber finds that in the past five years: Strikes increased in number by 19 per cent, from 2,442 in 1961 to 2,910 in 1965; the number of strikers increased from 804,000 in 1961 to 1,160,000 in 1965, an increase of 40 per cent; and strikers lost 16,800,000 man-hours of work in 1965, a 90 per cent increase over the 8,860,000 man-hours lost in 1961. It seems Mr. Wirtz should spend a little more time reading his own department's publications.

Remember to Give Human Events This Christmas. See Page 16.

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Soviets Plan to Revive Comintern Next Spring

World Communist leaders hope to duplicate 'united fronts' of '30s

By VICTOR RIESEL

This bit of the past will explain much of the future:

Back in February 1934, Communist shock troops invaded a mass labor rally in Madison Square Garden. The Stalinists stormed in shouting "Unite and Fight"—meaning join in a united front to fight a common enemy. The crowd refused to unite. The Communists chose to fight.

It was the biggest battle ever staged at the Garden. There was much blood, much bitterness, no unity.

A year later, at the meeting of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (inside jargon for Communist International) an easier soft-sell policy was developed. Gently, persuasively, Soviet propagandists attempted to woo labor and the left into a "united front."

In the United States the Communist party rolled up some 80,000 members. Scores of other thousands rallied to it.

Then in 1943 the Comintern was dissolved. The cold war cracked the united front. It died.

Now, away off in the distance, soon to be heard ever louder and louder, the Communist propagandists and activists are calling on labor and the slivered left to join them in a new mass "united front." The Soviet drive awaits only the creation of another centralized Communist International organization to push it into the United States and all free lands.

Now comes word that a new Communist International organization will be launched in the spring. It will be complete with a professional executive committee to handle day-to-day problems.

This word of a new Comintern comes from a truly self-effacing man, Louis Nichols, who is so esteemed by some of America's top newsmen that they would go swiftly to their typewriters to report the coming visit of Mao to Johnson City if "Louis" said it were so.

Mr. Nichols, who has been closely observing the burgeoning Comintern, was for many years an assistant to the director of the FBI and thus one of the three men who ran the bureau. He is a literate man, as familiar with Friederich Nietzsche and Karl Marx as with John Dillinger and Al Capone.

Having labored in the vaguely unfinancial vineyards of the government for two decades, he now is executive vice president of Schenley Industries, Inc. He is not, however, far from the geyser-ing fonts.

Recently he marshaled a series of official Communist actions and speeches to party comrades by the Soviet's little known theoreticians. The latter were particularly concentrated in the period from July 25 to August 21, 1965, when "the Communists celebrated with special emphasis the 30th anniversary of their Seventh World Congress, the last and most important Comintern meeting prior to its dissolution . . . . This 1965 celebration became a springboard for launching a return to the 'united front' concept."

For the newcomers to reports of what is heard on the left, it must be explained that the "united front" tactic is the offering by the Communist world apparatus of aid in any fight. This could be on traffic congestion, corruption, housing, sewers, political candidacies—and for world peace and democracy, Soviet style.

Tactically, it means burying revolutionary zeal and patter and infiltrating cultural, liberal, political and labor groups wherever possible. And let the conservatives not believe they're free from such enticements either.

If the labor and political and liberal leaders recognize and rebuff the Communists and reject their offer of money and manpower, the Comintern-ites do not simply go away. They launch new innocent fronts as a lure.

One of the forces the Communists will invade will be the labor movement.

"The veteran leadership of labor has been through the fire," said Mr. Nichols to an old friend the other day. "They have withstood the raids from the left on memberships and treasuries. They have been tested.

"However, there is a need for the younger leaders, the younger rank and file, to make themselves knowledgeable before they are forced to go through the same heartbreaking, and backbreaking, fights which their movement underwent three decades ago."

Those of us who watch little-noted events abroad see Mr. Nichols borne out. The powerful British labor movement, the Trades Union Congress, on October 27 voted to send a fraternal delegation to the Soviet's all trade union convention.

The German labor movement, overriding the objections of its president, Ludwig Rosenberg, has voted for cultural and labor exchanges with Russian labor.

The French Socialist and Communist parties, which have powerful labor movements, are in a political popular front.

United front-ism of the '30s is crowding in on the United States. It will be fascinating to see whether it does as well with the beat generation as it did with the lost generation.

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How Goes Sweden's Socialist Economy?

By HOWARD KERSHNER

The economy of Sweden is often spoken of as the middle way. But the middle way wobbles farther and farther leftward. One of the manifestations of this fact is the rapid degree of inflation taking place in Sweden.

During the past 15 years consumer prices have risen about 85 per cent and during the same period spending on social services more than quadrupled. During the last few years the rise has been much sharper than previously.

The cost of the state medical plan in Sweden has gone up more than 500 per cent during the 14-year period 1948 to 1962.

During recent years wages have been rising at nearly double the rate of productivity.

Military spending in Sweden is relatively small, but welfare spending accounts for more than 36 per cent of the budget of the central government, plus a very large portion of the budgets for local governments.

Taxation is far higher in Sweden than in the United States. A single individual with an income of $2,000 pays nearly one fifth of his total earnings in taxes. In the United States it would be less than 9 per cent. A family of four earning $6,000 a year will pay to the Swedish government 21 per cent of its income, while an American earning the same amount with the same sized family will pay only 7.5 per cent.

In addition to income taxes, sales taxes are also far higher than in the United States. The sales tax on gasoline is nearly two thirds of the retail price. Soft drinks are 20 per cent, electricity for household use, 7 per cent.

Moreover, expenditures for welfare purposes are rising at a steeper and steeper curve. To be sure, the people get many benefits, and they seem fairly well satisfied. But they are heading for the time when government will do everything for them and take the greater portion of their earnings. As the government "take" increases, the area of freedom and the exercise of individual initiative decreases. That is the road to slavery. That road is ahead for us if we do not reject the welfare state concept and assume a far greater measure of responsibility for ourselves.

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Communist leader William Epton walks with a group of his followers July 25, 1964, just before his arrest for defying a ban on demonstrations by his group, the Harlem Defense Council.

N.Y. Trial Reveals More About Leftists' Role in Harlem Riots

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

There is now unfolding in the New York Supreme Court the hitherto unknown role played by radical leftists in the Harlem race riots of July 1964.

On trial for criminal anarchy is William Epton, 33-year-old vice chairman of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party. The prosecution has charged that Epton had a "preconceived plan" to overthrow the state government during the 1964 uprising.

The first prosecution witnesses, Detectives John Rivers and Francis Koopman, testified that on the afternoon of July 18, 1964, they recorded two speeches by Epton at a Harlem street rally.

The jury of nine men and three women heard Epton harangue the police:

"They have declared war on us and we should declare war on them and every time they kill one of us, damn it, we'll kill one of them and we should start thinking that way right now . . . . We will not be totally free until we smash this state totally and completely. Destroy and set up a new state of our own and of our total liking."

Epton's chief counsel, Mrs. Eleanor Jackson Piel, conceded the voice on the police tape was that of her client. She said that he was urging peaceful "protests" against conditions in Harlem. She ignored the following statement by Epton:

"And in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army."

A Negro detective, Adolph Hart, testified that Epton favored bloody revolution to topple state and local governments throughout the country. Hart revealed that he had joined the Progressive Labor Movement (the name was subsequently changed to the Progressive Labor party) in 1963 on police orders.

Epton lectured his followers on "various ways of defeating the police," Hart testified. In the spring of 1964, Hart said, Epton decided to organize Harlem block by block with small terrorist bands of armed teen-agers to counter the police. When the rioting broke out on the night of July 18, he said, Epton and other PLP functionaries were turning out inflammatory literature.

The literature included the notorious "Wanted for Murder" poster bearing a picture of Police Lt. Thomas Gilligan, who had two days earlier shot and killed a Negro teen-ager in the line of duty. The poster helped spark the Harlem rioting.

One of the tactics discussed in the Progressive Labor offices, Hart continued, was "suckering police officers into side streets and killing them." He said that Epton thought a leaflet containing instructions for making Molotov cocktails would be "a good way of keeping things going."

Epton told Hart that a "cadre school" had been set up in the Midwest to "train selected members" in revolutionary techniques. The school was designed, Hart related, to lead a Communist uprising against the "police, the National Guard and also the military."

Epton freely admitted that he was a Peking-line Communist, Hart testified. The Chinese, Epton said, believed in "bloody revolution," while the Soviet subscribed to "peaceful" subversion.

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A recent ad in the New York *Times* announced formation of an Ad Hoc Committee of Veterans for Peace in Viet Nam. The group denounced U.S. policy in South Viet Nam and called for a withdrawal of American troops.

Among the signers were:

• Herbert Aptheker, the Communist party's official theoretician and a member of the party's national committee. Aptheker's daughter, Bettina, recently announced that she, too, is a member of the party.

• Irving Peress, the New York dentist who was a central figure in the Army-McCarthy hearings a decade ago. Peress was given an honorable discharge after he refused to answer questions about Communist party activities.

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"ALL WE KNOW about foreign relations is that they are living beyond our means."—From the Waseca (Minn.) *Journal*

New Book Describes Political 'About-Face' of Bobby Kennedy

By VICTOR LASKY

The extraordinary changes that have taken place in the political outlook of Robert F. Kennedy, all within the past decade, are emphasized in a new book about the New York senator.

For example, 10 years ago Kennedy was a confirmed McCarthyite, a violent Red-baiter whose basic creed was that the only good Communist was a dead one. "Bobby's personal liking for McCarthy never weakened," report Nick Thimmesch and William Johnson in

"Indeed," the authors remark, "Americans must wonder whether Robert Kennedy is a man who should be trusted with the presidency."

Robert Kennedy at 40. When the Wisconsin senator's funeral was held in Appleton, Wis., on May 7, 1957, "Bobby Kennedy flew out from Washington to join the mourners for his friend, Joe McCarthy."

These, of course, are memories that Bobby would rather have people forget. For Bobby is no longer a Red-baiter. He has turned liberal with a capital "L."

In fact, at times he takes positions far to the left of President Johnson. He has criticized the Administration's handling of Santo Domingo. He has even said he favored donations of blood to the Communist enemy in Viet Nam.

No wonder then that former McCarthyite Robert F. Kennedy is today the hero of the very forces whose guts he hated a decade ago. The Vietniks and the peaceniks, whom Sen. McCarthy would have scorned, now consider the New York senator their *de facto* leader as against the man in the White House.

But such is the nature of politics. Robert F. Kennedy, who makes no bones about his wanting to become President of the United States (and who acts as if it were his due), is deliberately courting the left wing of his party. The fact that, in so doing, he seems to be sabotaging President Johnson in foreign policy at least, does not appear to concern him.

His lack of concern for anyone but himself comes through loud and clear in the Thimmesch-Johnson book. The authors say:

"Given his name, his political talents, his money, the presidency is by no means beyond his reach. It does lie well beyond his present stature. Even at 40, there is an unsettling aura of immaturity about Robert Kennedy. He is impetuous, impatient, blunt-spoken even when he does not have to be. He has an obsession about winning—whatever the contest.

"He seems too often to form quick, subjective dislikes for people who offend him quite unknowingly. Sometimes he treats his closest, most able aides as if he were a crown prince and their single purpose on earth were to cater to his every whim."

Many of these same aides, the authors concede, regard Kennedy as "close to a saint, a man of absolute integrity and profound morality."

"As Americans consider Bobby Kennedy for the presidency," Thimmesch and Johnson conclude, "many will have a feeling of ambivalence, of uncertainty. They will see many of the traits they demand of a President and many they could not allow. They do not want a weakling, and Bobby is not one. Neither do they want a man who shoves people around, and Bobby has done that. They want a leader, and Bobby is. But they do not want a man who takes his followers for granted, and Bobby has done that, too. They want a man who understands the anatomy of crisis and can make decisions without personal involvement. Bobby can do that. But they do not want a man who is impetuous and easily angered. And Bobby has been that, too.

"Indeed, Americans must wonder whether Robert Kennedy is a man who should be trusted with the presidency."

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Would Supply Arms to Guerrillas

Nasser and Russia Confer on War Against Rhodesia

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Gamal Nasser and Russia are in the process of setting up the machinery to arm and supply African attacks on the Rhodesian government of Sir Ian Smith.

At the very time Nasser is vigorously pressing the United States to provide him with new large stocks of surplus grain and other commodities, the UAR ruler is secretly conferring with high-ranking Soviet officers and members of the Organization of African Unity to instigate and wage extensive guerrilla war in Rhodesia.

Grimly indicative of the sinister nature and import of these closely guarded Cairo meetings is the influential status of the Russians and Africans taking part in them.

The Soviet group, headed by Marshal Andrei Grechko, first deputy defense minister, consists of Air Marshal Rudenko, deputy air force commander; Admiral Sergeyev, top naval chief; and Col. Gen. Mikhail Nikitin, reputed new military intelligence commander.

Foremost among the Africans are Flexi Onaha, Uganda defense minister and militant advocate of the use of armed force against Rhodesia and the leading military lieutenants of Kenya President Kenyatta, chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

Significantly, the Russian group is exactly the same that visited Hanoi shortly before Communist Party Secretary Brezhnev went there early this year. Following these trips it was announced the Soviet was increasing its military aid to North Viet Nam, including ground-to-air (SAM) missiles—which so far have taken a toll of eight U.S. planes.

It has also been ascertained that the Soviet group in Cairo is in direct contact with Kenyatta and Diallo Telli, secretary-general of the OAU.

Malcolm MacDonald, special British representative in East and Central Africa, following a series of talks with Kenyatta, has informed Prime Minister Wilson that Kenyatta and Telli are negotiating with the Russian officers to provide arms for African "liberation forces."

Nasser's conspiring with Moscow to organize and arm guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia is a repeat of what he did in the strife-torn Belgian Congo in 1964.

At that time, when the UAR was getting more than $100 million a year in surplus U.S. food under a three-year agreement with President Kennedy, Nasser was transshipping large quantities of weapons and munitions to the Communist-led rebels in the Congo. The arms were flown from Russia to UAR bases, where they were stored for delivery, largely via the Sudan, to the rebels.

In the attacks now being secretly planned in Cairo against the Rhodesian government, Nasser will provide the military equipment from his stocks. In turn, the Soviet will replace these supplies with new arms.

In preparation for the guerrilla operations, "advance" infiltration and propaganda centers are being set up in adjoining Zambia and Malawi.

At Lusaka, Zambia, already two leaders-in-exile of the African Peoples Unity Party are beaming incendiary daily broadcasts to the African population of Rhodesia, preaching "kill the whites," "destroy the whites' cattle and crops," "strike against the Smith government," "sabotage and tie up transportation and communication."

State and Defense authorities make no secret of their profound concern over the Rhodesian crisis. A high State Department official is privately calling it the "most dangerous situation in the entire world, not excepting Viet Nam."

He pointed out that if large-scale guerrilla fighting develops in Rhodesia, all Africa could become involved, with Russia and Red China "feeding the flames."

Administration insiders say President Johnson is prepared to support Britain if it imposes an oil embargo against the Ian Smith government. It is indicated that State and Justice Department experts already are formulating the measures necessary for such U.S. action.

While secretly talking with the Soviets, Egyptain President Gamal Nasser is pressing the U.S. to supply him with surplus food.

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Jomo Kenyatta, president of the anti-Rhodesian Organization of African Unity, is in touch with the Russians.

Inside Castro's Subversion Mills

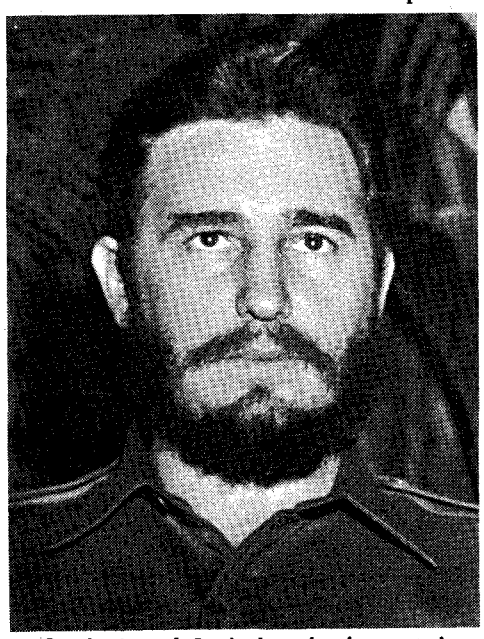
By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

At Havana's Hotel St. John, at 23rd and O in the Vedado section, young men from all parts of the world mill about. They are the new arrivals, brought to Castroland for advanced training in guerrilla warfare, sabotage and political agitation. After a few days of preliminary indoctrination, these rookies of disaster are secretly moved by truck and bus after nightfall to the small town on Boca Chica, 15 miles east of Havana. Each increment at these schools runs to about 3,000 youths.

At the Havana airport, every flight from Prague brings in a contingent of North Vietnamese and Red Chinese instructors. These are, in effect, professors of advanced destruction. Brazilians, Central Americans, Venezuelans and other *latinos* make up the student body.

After this training, these guerrillas and activists return to Havana. They are transported to Mexico on Castro's *Compania Cubana de Aviacion*. The "graduates" have now spent six months in Cuba learning their grim trade. The exit corridor is Mexico, and thousands have been using this route on their way to what will be bloody battlefields in a Latin America seeking desperately to find its way out of an economic morass. As long as Castro continues to manufacture these guerrillas, there is no hope of a sound future for the republics south of the border.

But it is not only subversives that the Castro mills turn out. Propaganda is a vital part of the Communist operation. The Cuban Aviation Co. planes that ferry the guerrillas also export tons of leaflets and other Communist literature for use in the Latin world. Mexico denies that its door to Cuba admits this printed poison. But no one who has watched these planes putting down takes these denials seriously.



Graduates of Castro's school are sent throughout Latin America.

Mexican counter - intelligence agents swarm over the airport to prevent the literature from being unloaded. The Castro effectives who accompany it are also busy, bribing those officials who are susceptible or trying to sneak the propaganda materials off the planes. Central Intelligence agents are also at hand, and they have reportedly hijacked truckloads of Castro literature before it can be delivered to distribution points.

This is all part of the daily war, the constant struggle between the forces of catastrophe and the legions of order. With the help of Moscow and Peking, Cuba has been turned into a vast staging area for the assault on the Western Hemisphere. If the Dominican Republic falls to the Castro-Communist coalition, there will be one more nation devoting itself to the subversion of the United States and her Latin neighbors.

The determination and ingenuity of this effort was demonstrated when Venezuelan army units assaulted a clandestine underground arms factory and training center near Caracas. Built 10 feet under an innocent-seeming chicken farm by Castro-trained guerrillas, the Communist stronghold was a weapons plant—with laboratories, classrooms, living quarters and enough explosives to blow up the capital city of Caracas. Security authorities found important Communist files plus great stores of books and pamphlets smuggled in from Cuba via the Havana-Mexico line.

Venezuelan officials are certain that the Garabato base is but one of many underground bastions linked together. The discovery of the underground plant explained how Cuban-trained guerrillas were able to make hit-and-run attacks on Venezuelan troops and then disappear. The line of Communist blockhouses accounts for the coordination of Venezuelan and Colombian guerrilla activities.

These facts get little play in the American press. But they are well known to U.S. intelligence agencies and to Administration experts. It is known at the Pentagon and the White House that any one of these Communist guerrilla forces can keep a whole country in a state of paralysis—once the bosses in Havana decide that it is worth the cost in lives and material. These roving bands, moreover, can sometimes seize on an issue and expand rapidly in size and boldness.

The United States, therefore, is determined to maintain its freedom of action. At the recent Rio conference American diplomats did not surrender their right to intervene if guerrilla activity reached the danger point. This can be chalked up as a victory of some consequence when the pressures for American withdrawal from previous positions are assessed. In this, a few staunch men in the State Department's sub-Cabinet echelon refused to accept the "retreat from victory" which is so fashionable in certain Washington quarters.

The danger exists that the exact nature and dimension of the threat will be minimized. But it is somewhat reassuring that there are still men on guard in Washington's somnolent atmosphere.

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BRASH BOBBY—Columnist Maggie Daly in the Chicago *American* says the "in" set in Manhattan is talking about Sen. Robert Kennedy's "self-importance when Pope Paul visited America. After failing to answer to any RSVP to the arrangements committee, Kennedy showed up minutes before the pope's plane landed and refused to wear a security badge. A priest on the arrangements committee insisted and finally got his way when he said in a stern voice, "Senator . . . the cardinal is wearing one." At the service in the cathedral, the Kennedys took over the front seat but were asked to move back because that seat had been reserved for Mayor and Mrs. Wagner. At the Mass in Yankee Stadium at night, the Kennedys arrived with their eight children and sat in the first row of the VIP section. A priest again approached and said the Kennedy children would have to be moved back because the seats were reserved. The Kennedys refused to move. The priest had another row of seats placed in front of the Kennedys and signaled for the seminarians who were scheduled to sit there. He also placed Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) directly in front of Sen. Robert Kennedy."

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'Mothers' Crusade for Victory over Communism'

New Group Joins Fight Against Trade with Red Bloc

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

A typical American action, in the old tradition of a few concerned citizens appealing to the many, may have the effect of stimulating the new Congress to pass a law to ban trade with, and aid to, Communist countries.

A modest new organization, Mothers' Crusade for Victory over Communism (operating from P.O. Box 943, Mesa, Ariz., 85200) is circulating startling information on the increase in the sale of American goods to Communist-controlled countries. Many items fall into the strategic goods classification still

Rep. Glenard Lipscomb (R.-Calif.) has helped keep the public informed of what goods are being sent the Communists.

ostensibly in force. This once strong policy arm of our national defense is rapidly withering.

Accompanying the information are petitions to the Congress protesting such aid and trade with Communist countries:

"We favor military action against Communist aggressors, but we know that military warfare must be accompanied by economic and psychological warfare, if we are to achieve victory. We are absolutely opposed to the United States' policy of 'peaceful coexistence' whereby aid and trade with our Communist enemies is being expanded by the United States and her allies, while our men are risking their lives in mortal combat.

"Non-strategic, as well as strategic materials, which help the economy of any Communist nation, in any way, releases funds which the Communists are able to divert for their military build-up to be used against the free world. Scrap iron and other so-called nonstrategic material was sent to Japan during the '30s . . . ."

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), said at a labor convention on Aug. 26, 1965, that "business as usual with Brezhnev, Gomulka or Tito today is just as senseless and dangerous as was doing business as usual with Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese military dictators yesterday. Credits, liberal trade terms and technical aid have never helped any dictatorship to become democratic, peaceful or considerate of the needs of their people."

This is the view of the Arizona women who are writing letters and sending their 20-signature petition sheets around the country in the hope that they will be able to amass an impressive silent protest against extension or continuance of trade and aid to the Reds.

The organization is composed of a group of concerned mothers of limited means who are unable to afford to pay for advertising to publicize their protests. They are reaching out in the simple, typically American way of appealing to other Americans. They hope to reach those who may be unaware of the expanding efforts by U.S. foreign policy planners to increase our trade with the Reds. This silent, little-known change in policy has been moving into high gear lately.

"We believe this Administration policy will undermine the sacrifices of our soldiers," said Mrs. C.B. Johnson, organization secretary. "We feel as mothers we have an obligation to our sons somehow to get this information, which press, radio and TV commentators do not stress, to the people.

"We feel, too, it is time for the mothers of this nation to let their voices be heard in protest against helping our enemies in any way to achieve the means to kill our sons."

The silent expansion of trade, in a kind of creeping betrayal of the strong, protective policy which once obtained, is described and documented in the information compiled by the Arizona mothers. For instance, it became known in late September that export licenses had been issued by the Commerce Department to U.S. dealers who are selling considerable quantities of soybeans and tallow to the Soviet bloc without a single protest or move made to stop this. Both commodities are important ingredients in the production of ammunition. In the first half of this year, more than $20.6 million in tallow and $8.6 million in soybeans were sold to the Communists.

Other strategic materials licensed for export to the Communists, despite our so-called ban on such materials, were listed by Rep. Glenard Lipscomb (R.-Calif.). They include chemical wood pulp ($3 million); grinding machines ($2.5 million); goods and technical data for use in oil drilling, steel mill construction, aircraft, metal treating and the making of explosives.

The Soviets need and use chemical wood pulp to make rayon tire cord. But if anyone thinks they are manufacturing this for pleasure cars, instead of military vehicles, he doesn't know the devious Soviet mind which has often expressed its intention to "bury" us. Khrushchev is out but the system is intact.

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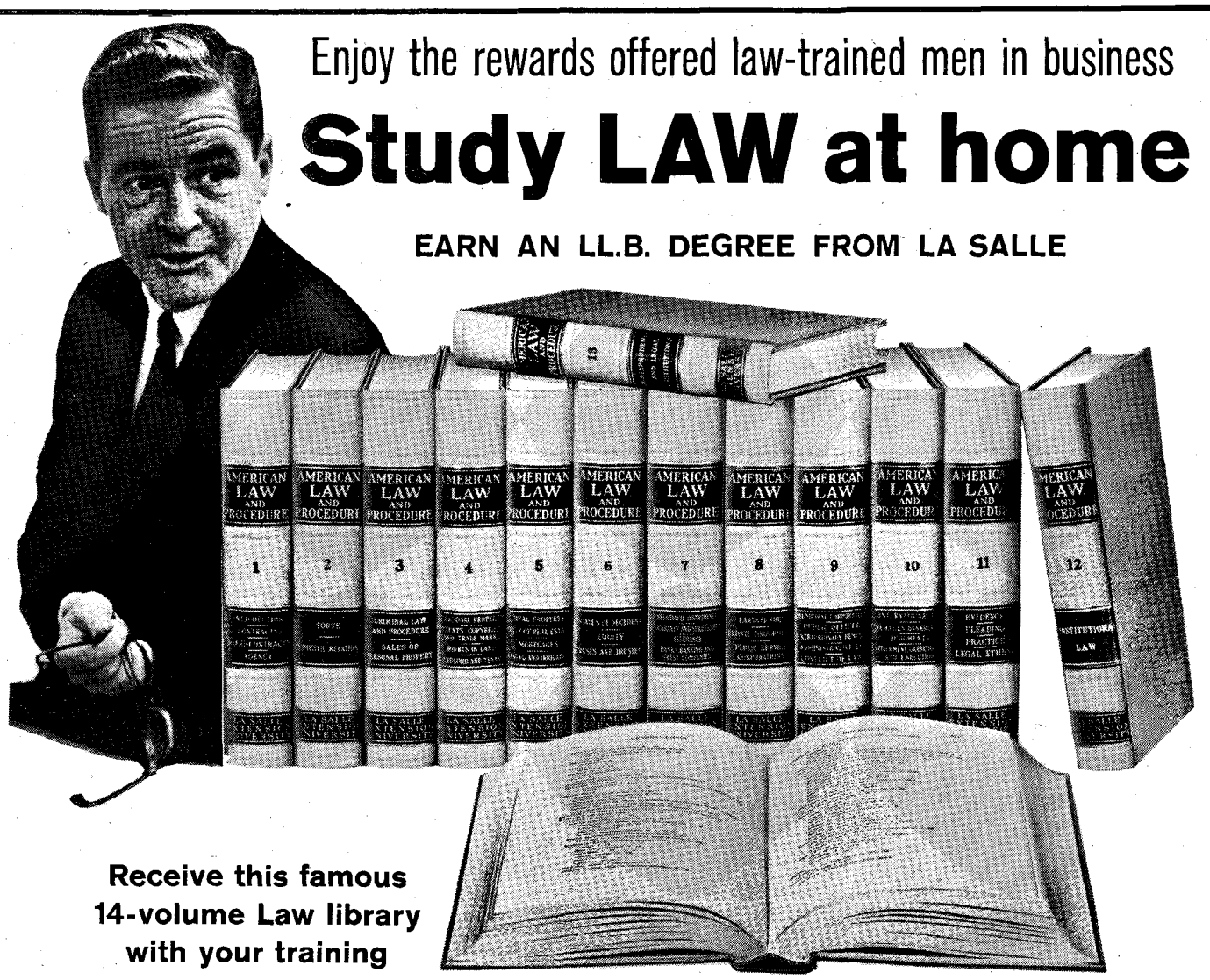

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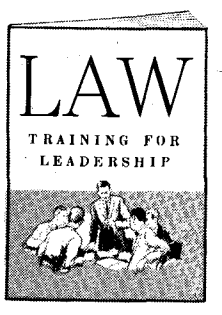

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Boston Shows Conservatives How to Win the Big Cities

On Nov. 2, 1965, the liberal establishment suffered one of its most humiliating defeats since 1932. It happened, appropriately, here in Boston, the city which proudly calls itself "The Cradle of Liberty."

When the votes were tabulated, the people of Boston—in a spontaneous reversion to the rebellious, protesting traditions established two centuries ago during the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party—had turned out of office the president of the Boston City Council and the chairman of the City Council's Urban Renewal Committee, plus the lone member of the School Committee who had tied his personal career to the coattails of the radical civil rights agitators.

The whole crushing defeat for liberalism was aptly summed up at a television press conference on election night by School Committee Chairman Louise Day Hicks, already a national figure for her stand in defense of neighborhood schools. "The people of Boston have spoken," she declared, as left-leaning interviewers frowned, scowled and winced. And those six words said it all!

The people of Boston *had* spoken, overcoming many elements: self-appointed "spokesmen" for church, business and finance; the press; self-styled liberal Republicans of the Silk Stocking districts of Beacon Hill and Back Bay; the Democratic mayor; the aggressive state education commissioner; the local agents of LBJ's long-tentacled federal administration. Never before have so many prestigious officials talked so confidently of winning a major victory for the establishment, only to be repudiated at the polls by voters of a city long regarded as "safe" for liberalism.

The story of the 1965 Boston election has its roots two years earlier.

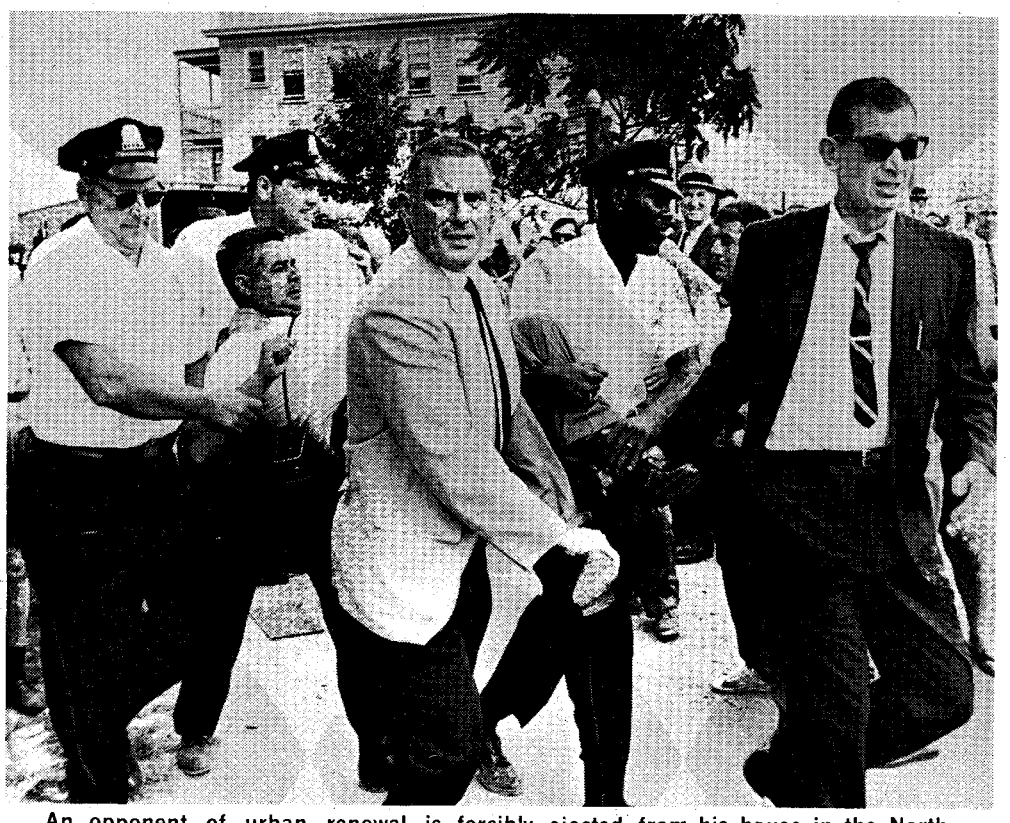
Outpulls Mayor

In the 1963 Boston election, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks topped the citywide ticket, getting more votes even than Mayor John Collins. She had campaigned on a platform of preserving neighborhood schools in the face of charges of *de facto* segregation.

At the same time Mayor Collins had defeated City Councilor Gabriel Piemonte in a weird campaign. Piemonte was running for mayor on an anti-urban renewal platform, but the press ignored his statements to that effect and stated instead that urban renewal was hardly an issue in the campaign. The papers then deliberately diverted the attention of both the public and Piemonte onto lesser issues, such as a proposed sewer use tax.

Yet when the final 1963 vote totals were in, the Boston newsmen announced boldly that Piemonte's defeat was a clear-cut defeat for forces opposing urban renewal. In a brazen reversal of pre-election editorial policy, the papers declared that Piemonte's defeat was a mandate for a much-expanded urban renewal effort.

The press also went after Mrs. Hicks with a vengeance, attacking her as a queen of the bigots and attempting to read overtones of race hatred into what had been a simple defense of neighborhood schools.



An opponent of urban renewal is forcibly ejected from his house in the North Harvard St. redevelopment project.

From that day forward, urban renewal and neighborhood schools became the major issues in Boston—rallying people and money and organizations for and against with an emotional intensity rare in machine-dominated big city politics during the 20th Century.

When the 1964 elections came around, Republicans generally chose to ignore the lessons of Boston the previous year. As a result, Republicans took humiliating drubbings in most big cities.

In a strong rebuff of Boston urban renewal boss Edward J. Logue (left), anti-urban renewal candidate William Foley (right) was elected to the Boston City Council. The chairman of the council's urban renewal committee was defeated in the same election.

Back in Boston, however, the key issues grew even hotter as events moved towards the 1965 primary elections.

To begin with, one school after another in the predominantly Negro districts was mysteriously burned down by unknown fire bombers. This forced the School Committee to shift students into nearby schools and in some cases the influx of Negro students to these schools tended to push their Negro pupil ratio over 50 per cent. No one—not even civil rights leaders—suggested seriously that the School Committee was making any deliberate effort to cause *de facto* segregation. It grew out of neighborhood residential patterns.

Some Negro parents wanted these patterns artificially offset by mass bussing of students to outlying areas. Most, however, seemed to prefer having their children go to school with their neighborhood playmates. In fact, a good many Negro parents favored not bussing but rather continuation of the special "enrichment" program put into action by the School Committee, supplying extra school help for "culturally deprived" children.

Nevertheless, any parent who wanted to provide transportation for his child could transfer him to any empty seat in his grade that the parent chose in the city—and with the loss of population caused by shifting residential patterns towards the suburbs, many seats *were* vacant. Few parents took advantage of this "open enrollment" policy, however.

But the radical civil rights lobbyists refused to leave well enough alone. Under a law rammed through the state legislature, it suddenly became illegal to have more than 50 per cent Negro enrollment in any school; withdrawal of state school aid was made the punishment for a community's breaking this law. The state thereupon hinted it might just do this to Boston.

Agitators demanded that Boston bus Negro children out of the core city and into the city's suburban districts. The School Committee refused, standing pat on the neighborhood school concept. The press and the rest of the liberal establishment mounted a furious attack on the School Committee.

A so-called "Citizen" slate was put up to run in the primary election for School Committee. It included only one member of the current School Committee, liberal Arthur Gartland, who had consistently voted in the minority against Mrs. Hicks and the fellow School Committee members.

People Protest

Meanwhile, on the urban renewal scene, activity was also moving at a fast pace.

Urban renewal boss Edward Logue, ignoring criticisms stemming from the fact that only parking lots remained of some areas he had earlier demolished to make room for proposed urban renewal projects, went blithely ahead with new and bigger projects. More multi-billion-dollar plans were unveiled. The establishment, licking its chops at the vision of huge, easy profits to be made by getting other peoples' property at a marked-down price via the right of eminent domain, threw its entire weight behind Logue and his sponsor, Democratic Mayor John Collins.

The people were not impressed by these propaganda blasts and efforts were made to get the state legislature to slow down urban renewal. The gallaries were packed with women and their young children day after day as the hearings went on. Tempers flared. At one point, State House police tried to forcibly evict an anti-urban renewal protester from the hearings. Howls of anger filled the chamber; screams of "Gestapo" and "storm troopers" caused policemen to blush in embarrassment and back away, letting the heating quiet down naturally. The state refused to intervene, however, and Logue became bolder.

Residents of an area very close to Harvard University (near the Cambridge border) were suddenly ordered out of their houses. Some of the residents were Harvard students; others were longtime inhabitants of the area. Both groups quickly learned to work with the other. A spirited resistance movement sprung up. Crudely hand-lettered signs defending private property were hung from porches and windows, attracting much attention from the traffic using the main street through the neighborhood.

Violence Employed

Then one day Logue struck. Rented trucks pulled into the area and efforts were made to enter one of the houses. The residents of that and surrounding homes poured out onto the street and battled police, who seemed reluctant to be cast in the unpopular role assigned them by the mayor. Somehow the air hissed out of the truck tires and the effort was temporarily abandoned. But television cameras caught the boisterous melee.

That night hundreds of thousands of Greater Bostonians saw incredible, heart-tugging scenes on their TV news shows . . . scenes of tearful men and women struggling against overwhelming odds to save their homes. A wave of revulsion swept across eastern Massachusetts. A bill was filed in the state legislature to stop the Harvard-area urban renewal program. But Logue was not to be denied.

Before the opposition could organize itself, Logue struck with the speed and boldness of a blitzkreig attack. More force was brought in,

Continued on next page

This report was prepared for Human Events *by a former newspaper reporter, now a businessman active in eastern Massachusetts politics.*

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Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, strong defender of neighborhood schools, topped the ticket in last month's Boston School Committee elections.

residents who opposed were arrested and forcible evictions got underway, often with a crude disdain for possible damage to roughly handled furniture and possessions. The establishment was having its way.

Between urban renewal and the scrap over school bussing, Boston was in a turmoil.

U.S. House Speaker John McCormack shrewdly ran away from the issues ripping his home district apart. But Sen. Ted Keenedy wasn't so wise. Almost casually, he suggested that Boston's School Committee might not be following the best possible course of action. Chairman Hicks angrily sliced him apart with rapier-like thrusts of her sharp tongue, and Ted was never heard from again on the matter.

Then came the primary election. In a strong comeback showing, Gabriel Piemonte, who had resigned from the council in 1963 to run for mayor, finished high among the candidates. Another former councilor, Pat McDonough, also placed high among the qualifying candidates.

Two current councilors who had been for months outspoken foes of urban renewal likewise ran strongly in the primary. (The primary reduced the field of candidates for 9 council seats to 18.) These anti-urban renewal champions were William Foley and Mrs. Katherine Craven, a blunt woman who was rapidly gaining the reputation of being the "Mrs. Hicks" of the City Council.

Democracy Debunked

The three School Committee members who had backed Mrs. Hicks rode her coattails in gaining easy renomination. (The primary reduced the School Committee field to 10, competing for 5 posts.) The so-called "Citizens slate" fared poorly, but did manage to qualify all five of its candidates for the November run-off.

Immediately, the establishment moved into action to try to influence the November outcome. It was obvious that the two ex-councilors staging comebacks were going to win council seats. This meant that two incumbents would fail to win re-election. The liberal newspapers lost no time in advising the public who the two losers would be: *they should be the two council members who had fought Ed Logue and urban renewal tooth and nail.*

On the School Committee front, the press began predicting that Mrs. Hicks was getting too popular for her own good. The establishment's self-deluding theory was that voters would cast "bullet" ballots for Mrs. Hicks, but then go home and leave her "partners" on the committee without support. The press called for all voters who were not bigots—and that's the way the papers phrased it—to save the city by voting for the so-called Citizens slate.

These liberal newsmen seemed confident, even smug, that their support for this slate—plus the backing of that part of the establishment customarily referred to as "community leaders"—would result in Mrs. Hicks being stripped of her friends on the committee.

Thus the campaign moved towards election day. The liberals dreamed out loud their vivid dream of a council purged of anti-urban renewal members and a School Committee ripped loose from Mrs. Hicks' control.

Just in case the vision proved too good to be true, the establishment hedged its bet by starting to play a new tune on its propaganda pipes. No longer did it speak nobly of democracy; in fact, it conceded that its opponents were popular. And so it began to sneer sarcastically at the whole concept of democracy.

Patterns Broken

Through various spokesmen and committees, the liberals bodly put forth the alien idea that such matters as urban renewal and public education were too important to be decided by the people—whom they now revealed they held in contempt as being simple-minded sheep qualified only to follow dumbly! Experts should be appointed to run such programs in a "professional" manner—or at least so said the establishment. But the public wasn't buying this brainwashing.

At length, election day dawned. A record percentage of voters (almost half those registered) showed up for this "off-year" election, despite the fact the mayor was in the middle of his four-year term. That night voting returns were reported over Boston TV stations

Gabriel Piemonte, in a strong comeback showing, was elected to the City Council on an anti-urban renewal platform.

as fast as the machine totals were tabulated and delivered to election headquarters. The figures revealed several striking shifts in voter habits.

For one thing, old-time ethnic bloc-voting patterns were broken beyond repair. In earlier years, hostility had grown up between Irish-Americans, "Yankees," Italian-Americans and other groups. Antagonisms had developed between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish voters. Between rich, poor and middle-class voters. Now all the barriers were down. Voters crossed and re-crossed ethnic and religious lines time and time again to cast their votes for candidates who shared their beliefs about urban renewal and school bussing.

Not only did large numbers of Jewish voters break loose from long affiliation with the establishment to vote *for* neighborhood schools and *for* the right to live in their homes without fear of urban renewal, so also—to the anger and chagrin of civil rights leaders—did a number of voters in Negro neighborhoods.

Those council candidates who had spent small fortunes to build bland images survived the voting, as voters concentrated their favor and their wrath on the candidates who had run on the issues. By the time the votes were all tabulated and checked, the liberals had taken a major licking.

In protest against "de facto segregation," Boston children are bussed for new elementary schools under "Operation Exodus."

Mrs. Craven and William Foley, the two council members marked by the newspapers for defeat, had been re-elected easily. So had anti-urban renewal champion Piemonte, increasing the number of anti-renewal votes to three on the nine-member council. And Tierney, the president of the council which had pushed so hard to advance urban renewal, was punished by being defeated. And so was the "Golden Boy" of the establishment press, Chairman George Foley of the council's Urban Renewal Committee!

The same pattern of voting showed up in the School Committee race. Mrs. Hicks ran out in front, getting the nod from two out of every three voters. The three members of the committee who had backed her finished 2-3-4 in the race. The political novice who had campaigned on her coattails was elected. The fifth member of the committee, Gartland, was defeated, and so were his four fellow-members of the so-called "Citizens slate."

The people of Boston had *indeed* spoken!

Mrs. Hicks was asked on TV that night whether she feared that state and federal aid funds would be cut off. She smiled into the camera and predicted: "They wouldn't dare!" With state and congressional elections coming up in 1966, it seems few politicians, from LBJ down, care to dispute her on that point.

What about the lessons waiting to be learned from Boston's elections? *There are three lessons.* Conservatives around the country ignored them after the 1963 elections, and the 1964 campaign proved that this was a fatal mistake. Now the lessons have again been taught in 1965. Will they be heeded in 1966 and 1968?

Lesson 1—Many people are tired of being pushed around by the liberal establishment. The old-fashioned republican town meeting spirit has spontaneously sprung up anew. Conservatives who are still dominated by fears of the people growing out of the 1930s had best take a look at the *real* world of today. Many of the "little people" have prospered, joined the middle class and have become obstinately *conservative*—although they still fight against having that label placed on them.

Lesson 2—Despite LBJ's smooth efforts to force a consensus ideology on our people, grass-roots voters are rejecting authoritarianism, high taxes and strong central government—when the issues are made clear! They are seeking candidates who will promise them lower taxes, more local self government, and less authoritarianism.

Ironically, in the 1964 elections, many conservatives scared away voters. Why? Ronald Reagan helps supply the answer in his book, *Where's the Rest of Me?* when he notes that *somehow the labels have gotten pasted on the wrong people.* In the world of politics, image counts for more than reality, as Goldwater found out in 1964. Conservatives seem to have a death-wish politically, judging by the way they gleefully accepted the wrong labels and the wrong images in 1964.

Mrs. Hicks and Mrs. Craven run on the old-fashioned slogans—town meeting democracy, rights of private property, individualism. They get elected by big vote totals. They run not as conservatives but as rebels against the entrenched liberal establishment. They run as underdogs championing the cause of underdogs everywhere. *They get elected!*

There is a lesson in this for conservative candidates who agree with these successful Boston candidates on almost all the issues, and yet wonder why they can't succeed at the polls the way Mrs. Hicks does!

Lesson 3—The liberals showed their true authoritarian colors in the Boston election when they revealed they think of the vast body of voters as being naive at best and stupid at worst. This is an insult to voters. Conservatives in America need only to shake off the false image they have as authoritarian, and they will find themselves winning victories as defenders of liberty.

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